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THE EMPEROR WILLIAM II.—HIS CHARACTER AND HIS POLICY.

I.

GAMBETTA, who, whatever may be thought of his character, was a keen politician, once observed that the death of the Emperor William I. would be one of the greatest events of contemporary history. He was right, although, disappearing himself before that octogenarian sovereign, he could not anticipate that the heir to the Imperial crown, then in the prime of manhood, the noble and unfortunate Frederic III., would be carried away by a premature death after a reign of only 99 days. He was right, because the accession of William II. seems destined to mark a still more important and thoroughgoing difference from the past than the government of Frederic III. probably would have shown if he had lived to reign.

As prince the present Emperor was a much-misjudged man; he was chiefly known as an ardent practical soldier and an eager student of military science. The so-called Count Vassili (now unmasked as a French spy, M. Mondion) in his interesting but libellous book, "*La Société de Berlin*," even credited him with the ambition of emulating the feats of Frederic II., and at the same time represented him as a libertine, which was absolute slander, his domestic life being a model of purity. In politics he was be-

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lieved to be a devoted pupil of Prince Bismarck, adhering besides to the divine right of kings, with a strong leaning to reactionary tendencies. This picture has been completely refuted by a three-years' reign. The truth was that at that time Prince William's character was not yet formed, as was but natural with so young a man. He had inherited the traditional sense of duty so conspicuous in the Hohenzollerns, he was a devoted soldier and showed a special interest in the Navy, but he was not less zealous when for a year he discharged the task of participating in the civil administration of the Province of Brandenburg. He had made a love-match—marrying a Princess of ancient descent but of modest position, Victoria of Augustenburg—and has ever since been most happy in his family. In politics he certainly admired Prince Bismarck's foreign policy, which had raised Germany to a first-rate power and made Berlin the centre of European affairs, and it was but natural that he was not equally conversant with the Chancellor's home policy and its disastrous effects. Prince William in the beginning of 1887 could have no idea that within less than two years he would be called to the throne, for his grandfather, notwithstanding his age, was still hale, and at his ninetieth birthday showed astonishing vigour, and his father was at fifty-six apparently enjoying excellent health. When, however, the unexpected arrived, and both his predecessors one after the other were snatched away, we may confidently assume that their youthful heir took the seat of his forefathers with the firm resolution to govern as well as to reign. Under William I. Bismarck had enjoyed a nearly absolute sway; the Emperor did not allow him to interfere in military affairs, but for the rest he was master. William I. was certainly not blind to his overbearing Chancellor's faults, but he thought him indispensable. In a confidential conversation with his nearest personal friend, the late Prince Anton von Hohenzollern, he said: "I must support Bismarck with all his intolerable qualities, because he is necessary for the prestige of the German Empire," a saying which marks at once the late Emperor's perspicacity and his high sense of duty. Besides this, the Emperor wanted rest and at his age was averse to all change.

His lamented son, succeeding him, was too ill to inaugurate

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a new system, although his programme of government, with which he took the Chancellor totally by surprise, showed that he had ideas of his own.

When William II. came to the throne, Bismarck expected to enter upon a new lease of unlimited power, for the present Sovereign had ever been one of his ardent admirers. As his press confidant, Moritz Busch, has told us, the Chancellor said in 1885: "I rely upon Prince William, who has the character and the spirit of an officer of the Guard, and that alone can save us." At first it seemed that his belief was not unfounded, everything going on as before; but soon signs of discord arose. A series of imprudently-begun trials proved abortive and cast disgrace on the government, and the slanderous attack on Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, ended in a signal defeat. In March, 1889, the Minister of Finance had drawn up a bill for the reform of the income tax, which had been sanctioned by the Emperor; suddenly Prince Bismarck interfered, declaring that it was against the agrarian interest, and the Landtag, summoned expressly to discuss the bill, was dismissed "*re infecta.*" Count Waldersee, the Chief of the General Staff, an eminent officer and an independent man, standing high in favour, had for years been a thorn in the side of the Chancellor, who looked upon him as a possible rival. He had tried to overthrow him during the short reign of Frederic III., but had not succeeded, Field-Marshal Moltke protesting that the General was indispensable in his place. In the summer of 1889 Waldersee accompanied the Emperor on his excursion to Norway, when a letter appeared in the "*Hamburger Nachrichten*," a paper known to be inspired by Bismarck, to the effect that the General in a memoir had directed his Sovereign's attention to the threatening character of Russia's armaments, and had advised, in contradiction to the Chancellor's policy, the forcing of war upon Russia. Waldersee from Trondhjem addressed a telegraphic denial to the paper, stating that he had never presented such a memoir, but the "*Nachrichten*," although bound by law to publish such rectification *verbatim*, did so only in a garbled form and in small type. At the same time the "*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*," Bismarck's avowed organ, published a mysterious article to the effect that, according to

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General von Clausewitz, a late eminent writer on strategy, war is only the continuation of a certain policy, and that therefore the Chief of the General Staff ought to be under the orders of the Foreign Minister.

Even in foreign politics the Chancellor began to blunder, although this was mostly the fault of his eldest son, who had inherited all his rudeness without any of his talents, and whom he had made Secretary of State. He entered upon an ill-advised quarrel with the Swiss Federal Council, because a German police agent, Wohlgemuth, who had acted as spy and "*agent provocateur*" against German Social Democrats in Switzerland, had been imprisoned for a week and then expelled. The "*Norddeutsche Zeitung*" called Switzerland a "savage country," and the "*Hamburger Nachrichten*" suggested its partition among its three neighbours. The Chancellor denounced the Treaty of Settlement concluded with Switzerland April 27, 1876, and demanded that only those Germans should be received on Swiss soil who could produce a certificate of good behaviour from their own authorities. The Federal Council, however, in a dignified answer declined to entertain such a demand, which would involve an encroachment on the Swiss right of asylum, and the campaign ended in a defeat of German diplomacy.

Such were the forebodings of the coming storm which was to end in Bismarck's dismissal, but it was not before the winter session of the Reichstag that the clouds were seriously gathering, and it was the social question which led to the final rupture. Bismarck's remedy against Social Democracy had been State Socialism coupled with stern repression of the Social Democrats. On the one side he went so far as to affirm in the sitting of the Reichstag of the 8th of May, 1884, the right to employment; on the other side he had enacted in 1872 an exceptional law against Social Democrats, which since had been prolonged every two years and which outlawed a large class of the population. The Chancellor did not perceive that this policy of intoxicating the head by big words, while reserving the right to break the skulls of those who might take those words too much in earnest, was inconsistent. The consequence of the acknowledgment of the right to employment would be the obligation of the State to

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organize labour, and that is precisely what the Socialists demand. History proves that it is a most dangerous policy to acknowledge the principle of a great social movement and at the same time to suppress by the police untoward manifestations of that movement. Such persecution only makes martyrs and increases the force of the revolutionary element. In fact, the law against Social Democracy had proved abortive, the number of Socialist electors having risen from 112,000 to 1,127,000.

But, far from acknowledging his error, the Chancellor presented in the autumn session of 1889 a bill tending to make the law against Social Democracy a permanent one, and to render it more stringent by a clause providing that the police should be entitled not only to expel temporarily Social Democrats from large towns, but to banish them perpetually. This was too much even for the long-suffering National Liberals, his devoted followers, who were ready only to grant a temporary expulsion for two years. Prince Bismarck was of opinion that the government should insist upon their demand, but "*faute de mieux*" should accept what they could obtain. Yet the government remained mute and the bill fell to the ground. The reason, which at that time was not generally understood, was that there existed already a hitch between the policy of the Chancellor and that of the Emperor, who had arrived at the conviction that the law against Social Democracy had not only proved barren, but had increased the power of the very party against which it was aimed. William II., who for years had devoted special attention to the labour question, was further convinced that what was most necessary for social peace was a law for the protection of women's and children's labour, Sunday rest, etc. But that was exactly what the Chancellor had opposed to the utmost; for years the Reichstag had discussed drafts of such a bill, but they had fallen flat before the strenuous resistance of Bismarck, who was entirely in favour of the large landed proprietors and the great industrials. The Emperor now resolved to overrule the Chancellor's opposition, and on February 4, 1890, an Imperial decree appeared in favour of the protection of women's and children's labour and announcing the invitation of an international conference for that end. Prince Bismarck resigned the ministry of commerce and

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was replaced by Herr von Berlepsch, who was to preside over the conference.

These events, causing the greatest excitement, fell in the midst of the elections for the new Reichstag, and their result was a crushing defeat of the Chancellor, the former docile majority—a coalition of the Conservatives and National Liberals brought about in 1887 by a false alarm of war—being scattered to the winds. Bismarck, however, did not despair, and told the ambassador of a great power that he was preparing a new combination by which he would vanquish his opponents, his plan being to form a coalition of the Conservatives with the Ultramontane Centre party, for which purpose he had a confidential interview with the leader of that party, Dr. Windthorst. But it was exactly this interview which brought matters to a crisis. Bismarck had asked the Emperor that, in virtue of a Cabinet order of 1852, his colleagues should be bound to submit beforehand to him any proposals of political importance before bringing them to the cognizance of the Sovereign. The Emperor had refused and insisted upon the cancellation of that order, and now when he heard of the Windthorst interview he called upon the Chancellor, asking to hear what had passed in that conversation. Bismarck declined to give any account of it, as he could not submit his intercourse with deputies to any control, and added that he was ready to resign if he no longer possessed his Sovereign's confidence. But he did not send in his resignation until, to his astonishment, an Imperial aide-de-camp came in the evening to remind him of his words by command of the Sovereign. Even when he was thus compelled to offer his resignation he never dreamt of the possibility of its being accepted. The step was intended as a means of pressure for bringing the Emperor back under his sway, such as he had repeatedly used under William I. when that monarch would not comply with his demands. But he was mistaken in his "new lord;" the resignation was forthwith accepted. He was thunderstruck when he received the Emperor's speedy answer, and a stormy scene ensued; but his reign was at an end. The means by which William II. tried to gild the pill by creating him Duke of Lauenburg and "*General Feld-Oberst*" could not deceive him as to the fact that he had

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not resigned but had been dismissed; he said as much in his farewell address to the Federal Council, and he called the homage he received at his departure from Berlin "a first-class funeral."

It was indeed a curious nemesis under which the Iron Chancellor fell after having enjoyed for nearly 27 years a power such as never since Richelieu had been wielded by a Prime Minister. In order to lower the importance of the Parliament he had always insisted that in Prussia it was the King that governed, evidently with the same meaning with which the Jesuits have striven to exalt the power of the Pope; that is, intending to wield that power themselves by their influence upon the Supreme Pontiff. He had once said that a good horse dies in harness, and he was confident of doing so himself. He had recently, according to his own words, assured the Czar that he was sure of the unbounded confidence of his new master, and that he would remain Chancellor till his death. As to the future, he had carefully prepared, by a nepotism hitherto unheard of in Germany, for the transfer of the Chancellorship to his eldest son. He had exalted in Prince William the consciousness of monarchical power, and he now succumbed to a simple decree of that power which he had used as a screen for the exercise of his own sway.

II.

If the choice of fit ministers is always the proof of the capacity of a sovereign for government, the Emperor William II. may already be said to have been successful.

The successorship of Bismarck was a great difficulty. The true test of the highest order of statesmanship is its success in forming a school. Such statesmen were Pericles, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Lord Chatham, Washington, Pitt, Stein, and in our days Cavour. When they died they left successors able to continue their work, and the reason is that they believed in institutions rather than in men. Marchese d'Alfieri has well said of Cavour:

"His creed was the rule of law. He admitted no accidents in government, no suspensions, no *coups d'état;* if the law was faulty it should be changed, but by Parliamentary discussion, not by the arbitrary intervention of decrees or by the votes of packed majorities obeying personal in-

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terests. His belief was in no 'one man's theory,' in no passing expedient of the hour; his belief was in Acts of Parliament." *

To that creed he remained true to his end. On his death-bed, amidst his ravings, he turned to the state of Naples and exclaimed: "No state of siege, none of these measures of absolute governments. Any one can govern with the state of siege; the country must be moralized." †

With Bismarck it was the reverse; he always adhered to the Cæsarian system—the "one man" who undertakes to think for the whole people. To govern was, according to his idea, not to persuade, but to command, and representative government was to command with a flourish of speeches, which should always end in a happy subserviency to the ruling minister. In fact, his opinion was "*L'Empire c'est moi*," and enemies of the Empire were always those who opposed his policy of the hour, his imperious nature rebelling against all control. Such a man could form no school; as soon as he saw a rising talent he pressed it into his service or crushed it. Therefore when he was dismissed, Germany had able diplomatists and administrators, but no statesmen; it was out of the question to choose one of the ambassadors or great nobles, who may be good in their way but are political nonentities, to step into the shoes of the all-powerful minister. Neither had the parliamentary parties a man fit to take the helm of the State. For this reason I maintained, years before the question was likely to become practical, that the only possible successor of Bismarck would be a politically gifted general, a man at once imposing and conciliatory; and the choice seemed to me to lie between Count Waldersee and General Caprivi. The late Dr. Windthorst, one of the keenest politicians of the Reichstag, when I discussed that question with him, entirely shared this opinion, but gave a decided preference to Caprivi. He had already been Secretary of the Navy, and in this position had shown great administrative capacity and the gift of preserving toward Parliament an attitude at once firm and courteous. The Emperor, without knowing Windthorst's opinion, called

* "The Nineteenth Century," September, 1889, p. 386.

† W. de la Rive: "*Le Comte de Cavour. Récits et Souvenirs*," Paris, 1862, p. 387.

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Caprivi to fill the difficult position of Bismarck's successor, and thus has proved his capacity to place the right man in the right place. His later appointments of Herr Miquel as Finance Minister, of General Kaltenborn to the war office, of Herr von Heyden as Minister of Agriculture, and of Count Zedlitz as Minister of Public Instruction have been equally successful.

The task of the new government was a very difficult one. They had to work urgent reforms with the old body of clerks appointed by Bismarck and committed to his system, but in the main one may say that they have done fairly well. The government is getting on satisfactorily with the Reichstag, which was pronounced the worst possible, after the elections, by the National Liberals, who had been beaten. The violent scenes provoked by Prince Bismarck's personal attacks upon the opposition have ceased. General von Caprivi treats his opponents as gentlemen, and has declared that he will accept support from whatever quarter it comes. The Emperor himself, in a speech at Koenigsberg, acknowledged the business-like manner in which the opposition has treated important bills, and concluded with the memorable words:

"The King of Prussia stands so high above parties and their quarrels that he cares only for the welfare of every one of his subjects."

The internal reforms which have been carried are already of great importance. Herr Miquel has effected on a sound basis the reform of the income tax, which Bismarck had steadily opposed in the agrarian interest.* Herr Herrfurth has successfully put his hand to the wheel for amending the antiquated law concerning the administration of rural communities. The law against Social Democracy has been tacitly abandoned and peace has not been disturbed; on the contrary, the much-feared demonstrations, which in Italy and France gave rise to great disorder, have passed quietly in the great German towns. The bill for the protection of labour, after a discussion of more than a year, has passed. It is certainly not perfect, but nevertheless will be a great advance; the protection of children's labour has been

*The Upper House indeed rejected the tax of four per cent. on large incomes, but the House of Deputies, to which the bill was sent back, has adhered to the four per cent. and the Upper House has given way.

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made more effective, and at the same time the fulfilment of the obligation to attend school has been secured. The law also prevents the misuse of children outside of factories in shops and domestic industry. For women the law provides that their work shall not exceed a maximum of eleven hours; and Sunday rest has been secured to the working classes, subject to certain necessary exceptions. Workingmen's unions are acknowledged as factors entitled to co-operate in fixing the relations between employers and workmen, factory laws, etc., the working classes obtaining thus a legal representative organ for the protection of their interests. The laws for public instruction have been amended in some points by a conference in which the Emperor himself took an active part, and a special law for regulating the elementary schools will be presented in the coming session.

All these reforms have met with considerable difficulties because the Conservatives are more or less opposed to them; they supported Prince Bismarck because they considered him as the best protector of their agrarian and industrial privileges, and the Emperor would not like to offend them too much. He has, however, made one step which is most distasteful to that party and which is perhaps the most important reform—the treaty of commerce with Austria-Hungary, to be followed by similar ones with Switzerland, Italy, Servia, and other countries. Prince Bismarck, originally and still in 1875 a free trader, in 1878 turned protectionist, and thereby gave the impulse to the protectionist reaction which has prevailed in Europe during the last decade. He made a compact between the agrarians and the industrials, the latter agreeing to duties on foreign corn, which were successively raised from one to five marks, and also to duties on meat, timber, etc., while the agrarians consented to reintroduce duties on iron and to raise considerably those on manufactured goods. The consequence was the usual one of protectionism—an artificial impulse given to industry by excluding foreign competition, and overproduction resulting from the increasing internal competition. The German workman had to pay more for his bread, meat, and all the necessaries of life than the English or Belgian, and if this led to a rise of wages he did not profit by it, while the manufacturer, with higher wages to pay and the

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enhanced price of raw materials, had more difficulty in competing in foreign markets. Consequently there has been a considerable falling off of German exports, and in order not to lose the foreign market the manufacturers have offered their goods at lower prices, retrieving themselves for the ensuing loss by organizing "rings" and thus enforcing proportionally higher prices at home.

It was evidently an inconsistent policy to subsidize railways and lines of transatlantic steamers and then by high duties to shut off Germany from the goods they brought. Life had become dear and the discontent prevailing in the masses was water on the mill of Social Democracy; numerous resolutions of Chambers of Commerce declared that the present system ought to be abandoned and that the proper way out was to return to treaties of commerce with a fixed tariff, which would give security to the export trade. It is due to the Emperor that a decisive step has been made in that direction by opening for this purpose negotiations with Austria-Hungary, which, after lasting five months, have now led to the conclusion of a treaty of commerce. Its contents are not yet known, as this treaty is to be followed by similar ones with the neighbouring states; but it is certain that, even if a complete rupture with the present system was not feasible, the tendency of these treaties will be to lower reciprocally the existing duties. It is a partial repudiation of Bismarck's commercial policy; it will not be free trade with the world, but it will give a freer intercourse between the states that will enter the new system. A great commercial union will be created, comprising the states of middle Europe—a fact the importance of which can scarcely be overrated, particularly as France is just now going to build up a wall of high tariffs between herself and other countries. Germany, Austria, Hungary, and their allied states answer by a commercial union "four square to all the winds that blow." They can compel Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria to enter the league, for those states could not maintain their cattle and pig trade if they were shut out from the principal European markets, and this union must even reach to Russia, which cannot hope for the same favourable treatment if it maintains its prohibitive duties on the imports of its neighbours. Nay, such a bond would have more than merely commercial

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consequences—it would baulk all hope of Russia's advance in the Balkan peninsula if the Balkan states are drawn into the circle of the union.

It was to be expected that this really great progress would not find favour with the agrarian party, as it embraces the lowering of the corn duties, by which the great landed proprietors have profited; and at the head of this opposition we find Prince Bismarck, who, in an article in the "*Hamburger Nachrichten*," evidently inspired by him, declared such concession to be "a tribute paid to Austria, sacrificing German interests." But if the ex-Chancellor, who now after a long struggle has been elected a member of the Reichstag, will in the coming session oppose the treaties of commerce, he will not be successful. It is certainly to be desired that a man of his importance should have a seat in Parliament, and much better that he should have occasion to speak his mind publicly than that he should exhale his wrath in anonymous newspaper articles and conversations with reporters. But he is very much mistaken if he expects to exercise great influence in the Reichstag. Just as Antæus derived his strength from contact with the earth, Bismarck was all-powerful only at the head of the enormous government apparatus which he had built up, and by which he defied his Sovereign as well as Parliament. But as a simple member he will be comparatively powerless; he will not be the leader of a compact party, for the Conservatives, although they gladly accept his support of the agrarian interest, will not dare to offend the Emperor by placing at their head a man who made the rupture with his Sovereign irreparable by his undignified, underhand attacks against the present government, which had the good tact to ignore them but has not forgotten them. On the other hand, although elected by the National Liberals, he cannot very well become a member of their party, as only a short time ago he declared himself to be a Conservative. He therefore will stand alone; his speeches will be listened to attentively, but they will be answered respectfully yet conclusively by the government and very broadly by Liberal speakers such as Richter, Bamberger, and Rickert, whom the Chancellor formerly treated with contempt or as enemies of the Empire. Besides, Bismarck is

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no orator; his speeches are the product of much thought and full of incisive arguments as well as of sophistical casuistry, but they derived their real importance from the fact that they were uttered by the omnipotent minister. Bismarck's opposition, therefore, is not to be feared, and will only force the Government to take a more decisive position. The treaties of commerce will pass by an overwhelming majority.

Last but not least, we have to mention as one of the merits of the present government its resolution to do away with one of the darkest points of Bismarck's internal policy—the Guelph fund, an institution quite unique for the management of public opinion. Its story is briefly this: When the late King of Hanover left his capital during the war of 1866, he carried with him state bonds to the amount of 25,000,000 thalers. After the annexation, the Prussian government wished to recover this sum, and by the mediation of England an agreement was arrived at by which the King was to give up the 25 millions, Prussia paying him four per cent. interest on £2,400,000 as an indemnity for his former income from the Hanoverian domains, thus enabling him to keep up a royal household and style of living. But scarcely had King George fulfilled his part of the agreement by restoring the bonds, when Bismarck appeared in the Chamber declaring that the King was intriguing to bring about a war against Prussia, and that the government was therefore compelled to deprive him of the means for carrying out his plans by stopping the payment of the interest agreed upon. He added that it was necessary to place this sum at the disposal of the government in order to enable them to counteract these dangerous designs and "hunt those reptiles into their holes." A legislative assembly rarely resists if a successful minister declares that the country is exposed to imminent danger from abroad; it cannot test the validity of such statements when the minister asserts that it is essential to observe secrecy as to the special information on which his demands are founded. The House voted the bill as requested, and thus placed at the disposal of the government a sum of about 720,000 thalers a year as secret-service money, Article IV. of the bill expressly stipulating that the executive should not be obliged to render any account of the

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manner in which it was spent. Now it may be perfectly true that at that time the ex-King was plotting against Prussia, and that the government was bound to oppose his schemes. But in any case this was only a passing danger, and the House ought to have limited its grant to a given time. It neglected to do so, and it has since bitterly repented of this omission. Nothing was heard of Guelph intrigues after 1869, yet that large sum remained at the unlimited disposal of the government, and it was a public secret that the money was spent for purposes very different from its original destination. But the Landtag could not repeal the bill without the consent of the government; and when a protest was addressed to it by some indignant member about the misuse of what was popularly called the "Reptile Fund," an under-secretary appeared at the bar, read out Article IV. of the act, according to which the government is not bound to give any account of the way in which the money is applied, and then, making his bow, retired as the three Anabaptists do in Meyerbeer's "Prophet" after having had their say. In the sitting of the Reichstag of November 30, 1875, Prince Bismarck said:

"In the *régime* of our epoch I do not esteem anything higher than the most absolute publicity. Not a corner of political life should be allowed to remain in the shadow; everything should be lighted up."

He has taken good care that no ray of that light should ever penetrate into the darkness of the Guelph fund, for in truth it would have been impossible for him to govern without it. We now know that all the documents which could have furnished evidence to show for what purposes the money was spent have been carefully burnt at the end of every year, which sufficiently shows that all was not clean linen.

The most curious thing is that it was Prince Bismarck himself who again stirred up discussion on this very questionable point of his administration. This would be inconceivable but for the fact that personal rancour is one of the deepest traits of his character and that he never forgets a slight, evidently sharing the opinion of Madame St. Ange in Dumas's "*Demi Monde*": "*A quoi servirait la memoire, si on oubliait les offenses.*" Bismarck held the opinion that Minister von Boetticher had contributed to

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his fall, and in order to revenge himself he mentioned, in a conversation with one of his visitors, that that gentleman had received a large sum from the Guelph fund for the purpose of rescuing his father-in-law from bankruptcy. This piece of news naturally got into the press and caused a great sensation, but though it somewhat damaged Boetticher, who, however, declared that he had never known the source from which the money came, the Chancellor fell into the trap which he had laid for his reputed adversary. The alleged fact proving the misuse which had been made of the Guelph fund raised anew the public indignation against the whole institution, and the government wisely resolved to take the initiative of a reform by a speech of General von Caprivi in the Landtag on April 29th. We cannot say that it was perfectly satisfactory, as the Chancellor defended the indirect application of the fund for building churches, schools, etc., in Hanover in order to conciliate its population; such purposes were never contemplated when the law was enacted. But it may be acknowledged that he had to perform a knotty task in weakening as much as possible public criticism of an indefensible matter; the principal thing was his promise that henceforth the employment of these funds should be placed under the control of the Landtag, and thus a source of corruption and scandal will disappear.

It might indeed be wished that the government should show somewhat more decision than has been the case, for instance, in the reform of the sugar duties, which furnish a striking proof that Bismarck legislated in the mere class interests of great landed proprietors. The law of 1869 established a tax of 90 pfennigs per hundredweight on beet root, with an export bonus of 9 marks 40 pfennigs per hundredweight on raw sugar. This corresponded to the production of one hundredweight of sugar from 12½ hundredweight of beet root, and the government expressly declared that the bonus was on no account to involve an export premium; but new technical inventions made it possible to draw one hundredweight of sugar from 9½ and even from 8 hundredweight of beet root, so that the government got a tax of only 7 marks 80 pfennings instead of 10 marks per hundredweight of sugar. Besides, the factories succeeded in drawing a

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considerable quantity of saccharine matter from the molasses which remained entirely untaxed. Yet the export bonus was maintained at its original height, and the consequence was that the revenue had declined in 1884 by 21 millions; while the sugar refiners, by inundating other countries, and particularly England, with cheap sugar, made enormous profits. Bismarck, however, for years opposed all reform of the tax, and when the government was at last obliged to acknowledge that a change had become inevitable, the law of July 9, 1887 introduced an impost upon the home consumption of 12 marks per 100 kilos, but the premium of 2½ marks contained in the export bonus remained. The present government discerned that it was necessary to do away with the premium which, according to the original law of 1869, was clearly illegal, but it has accepted a transition, which leaves an open premium of 1½ marks for three years and of one mark for the next two years, thus allowing the producers to continue filling their pockets for this period from the public exchequer, a concession which was certainly not called for, as we see from the last reports that a refinery declared a dividend of 100,672 marks for 1890–91 on a capital of 216,000 marks.

The reason of this compliance is probably to be found in the inclination of the Emperor not to touch too harshly the interest of the great proprietors of the eastern provinces. It is certainly true that this nobility has rendered important services to Prussia, in the Army as well as in the civil service; as a political party, however, it has never followed the principle "*Noblesse oblige*," but has strenuously insisted on its material privileges. It has opposed all the reforms of the great Elector, of Frederic William I., and of Stein and Hardenberg; it has availed itself of Frederic William IV.'s romantic predilection for creating an aristocracy by building up a House of Lords, which opposes all progress and could under William I. be brought only by strong pressure to submit to the equalization of the land tax. Its members became Bismarck's devoted followers because he secured the landed interest large profits by corn duties and premiums on sugar and brandy, and they are very unwilling to part with these privileges. The Emperor, however, will soon have presented to him the alternative of renouncing his excellent ideas of

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reform for the benefit of the people at large or of doing away with those privileges which bar the way of reform, and the issue cannot be doubtful. He has made the first and decisive step by the Austrian treaty, and in his speech at Dusseldorf of May 4th he has declared that he will stand by it; the rest will follow.

III.

It remains to glance at the foreign policy of Germany during the last period. The Emperor has shown that he has none of the warlike propensities which have been fathered upon him. He guaranteed peace by ratifying in person at Vienna and Rome the engagements entered upon by his grandfather in the Triple Alliance, and these relations will certainly be strengthened by the commercial treaties. He paid a visit to England, by which all previous misunderstandings between the two countries were cleared away, and a cordiality was established which found its expression in the Queen's appointing him an Admiral of the British fleet. It might be said that he even went too far in this direction by the treaty of July 1, 1890, by which Germany acquired Heligoland but paid too high a price for it in Africa, abandoning Vitu to the English; but in any case, that treaty has clearly defined the spheres of influence of both countries in that quarter. The Emperor, further, has not been ashamed to abandon the untenable position into which Bismarck had brought Germany by his quarrel with Switzerland, and has re-established the previous good relations between the two countries. He has been the first Prussian sovereign to pay a visit to the Sultan, at whose court he met with a brilliant reception, and by his courtesy he has greatly strengthened the German disinterested influence at Constantinople. He has profited by his personal relations of long standing with the Czar to convince him of his peaceful tendencies, and thus has successfully opposed the plans of a Franco-Russian alliance. He has also proved to France that all he wishes is the establishment of good relations between the two countries on the basis of the *status quo;* the French Ambassador at Berlin, M. Herbette, has been treated by him with marked distinction, and at the state dinner given to the

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labour conference Jules Simon had his place at the side of the Emperor.

Perhaps William II. has gone too far in his attempts to conciliate France, as was proved by the visit of his mother to Paris. The Empress Frederic, who is building a castle at Kronenburg, near Frankfort, wished to go to Paris in order to obtain ideas for the decoration of her country residence. The Emperor did not quite approve of this journey, and only reluctantly consented to it, on condition that the stay at Paris should be a short one. The principal fault lies with Count Münster, who ought to have discouraged the journey. Moreover, it was badly managed; the journey was to be *incognito*, M. Herbette knew nothing of it, and the Empress travelled under the name of Countess X. However, the *incognito* was not kept up, and she was received on her arrival by the German embassy, at which, as well as at that of England, state dinners were given in her honour. She stayed too long, and her visit at Versailles, which Count Münster ought to have prevented, was imprudent. On the other hand, it is pretty certain that M. de Freycinet thought the opportunity favourable for touching the national fibre in order to get from the Chamber the large sums which he wants for military purposes, and for that purpose gave free play to Deroulède and his friends for their noisy declarations. It was President Carnot who prevented this incident's taking a serious turn by insisting upon a display of police force, strong enough to prevent any really insulting demonstration, which might have had disastrous consequences. The journey was a blunder because it was undertaken with the mistaken idea that the French are to be won by cajoling them, whereas they take such flatteries as a proof of fear. Napoleon I. knew them better when he said that they wanted to be ruled by an iron hand clothed in a glove of velvet.

This incident, however, belongs to the past, and will perhaps have had a sobering influence at Paris, for the best part of public opinion in France was ashamed that such men as Deroulède should attempt to speak in the name of the nation. Besides, it is said that when on that occasion the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, M. de Laboulaye, sounded the Russian government

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as to whether Russia would consider a conflict between France and Germany as a *casus fœderis*, he received so peremptory a refusal from the Czar that his government, which had been persuaded by him that an alliance between France and Russia existed in fact, even if it was not sealed by a treaty, will probably recall him from his post.

At all events, the Emperor William II. was justified in saying in his speech at Dusseldorf:

> "I shall be glad, if by the assistance of Heaven, I shall be able to govern my country in peace. I only wish the European peace was lying in my hand; then I would take good care that it should never be disturbed. However that may be, I shall at all events leave nothing untried, and, as far as I am concerned, labour that it may not be disturbed."

These peaceful intentions, of course, do not exclude the necessity of being prepared for war. Russia and France are arming to an alarming degree, and German statesmen cannot be blind to the danger which this fact involves for their country.

William II. is undoubtedly the most remarkable sovereign of the present time. He is a modern man, notwithstanding certain proclivities which still adhere to him, like pieces of the shell of an egg from which the bird has issued. With restless activity he seizes upon all questions which agitate our time, be they large or small. To-day he speaks on great European affairs, opens new issues to German commerce, and proclaims social reforms; to-morrow he opens an art exhibition and takes a personal part in the performance of Wildenbruch's patriotic drama, "The New Lord." He presides over his Council and shows himself a ready debater, opens a scholastic conference, laying down his educational plans, and indefatigably travels over his country in order to see everything with his own eyes. Much in all this may be attributed to his active temper, but the moving principle is undoubtedly the high conception of his duty as "the first servant of the state." This conception is bound up with a strong consciousness of his eminent position; he feels himself to be the pillar of the state, called to carry out a great mission. As before the dismissal of Bismarck he said that he would crush any one trying to obstruct his path, so he declared in his late speech at Düsseldorf: "Only one is master in this country; I

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shall suffer no other."* It would be unjust to see in such utterances, caused by a high consciousness of his power, absolutist tendencies on the part of the Emperor. He is a constitutional prince and has rigidly respected parliamentary rights. But in a time when the principle of authority and order is undermined in many ways, the youthful Sovereign feels that he is the centre of monarchical discipline, without which the state can neither exist nor progress, and he is resolved to maintain his authority against Social Democrats as well as against interested coalitions of privileged classes and persons.

As a mortal man, the Emperor is certainly not infallible; he speaks well and frequently, and his impulsive nature sometimes leads him to utterances which he would avoid if his speeches had been carefully prepared, and which afterward are officially corrected. Yet even this fault is not without its merits. The Emperor's speeches captivate by the rich knowledge they display, by the lofty conception of his taste they indicate, and by the deepness of thought underlying them. Above all, you feel that this monarchical orator truly means what he says; his whole heart is in his words. Whatever may be his partial shortcomings, no one can doubt that he is animated by the single idea of promoting the happiness of all his subjects and the greatness of United Germany.

Taking all in all, we may say that the Emperor's short reign has been successful, that it bodes well for the future, and that at present there is perhaps no life more precious for Germany, as well as for Europe, than that of William II.

F. Heinrich Geffcken.

*It is said that these words were suggested by the ill-advised desire of the great Rhenish industrials, embodied in a poem of Emil Ritterhaus, that the Emperor should effect a reconciliation with Bismarck and call the Chancellor back to his former position, a hint which was rather ungraciously received.

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THE COLORED RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE are several things which unite to give a peculiar interest to the statistics of the colored race in the United States. In the first place, we are here dealing with an element of the population whose presence in the land is due entirely to force. All the other elements of our population represent migrations, early or late, which were voluntary, but the blacks were originally brought into this country through high-handed, brutal, often barbarously cruel violence. It would be no strained supposition that but for the slave trade as, with all its horrors, it was carried on between 1620 and 1808, there would not be 75,000 Africans in the United States, whereas now we have 7,500,000.

In addition to the fact just noted, viz., that but for the slave trade the blacks would not have been here at all, we have, in the second place, the fact that the domestic institution of slavery caused this element of our population to be distributed within the country, prior to 1861, very differently from what it would have been had the blacks been left free to place themselves according to their own tastes and industrial aptitudes. Wherever the master went within the territory where slavery was protected by law he carried the slave, without reference to the latter's predilections; and the natural range of residence for the master was much greater than the natural range of residence for the slave. The former represented a race bred in northern latitudes, and was hence thoroughly at home on the mountain side or table land; while yet, by the privilege of his strain, he could, without danger or great inconvenience, move southward if his interests required. The latter, on the other hand, represented a race bred under tropical conditions, and could move up the mountain side or go northward only at a large sacrifice of vitality and force.

But it was not merely the will or the interests of the master class which caused a far wider distribution of the colored element than would have taken place in a state of freedom. In his effort

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to escape from bondage, the black man made his way into regions whose climate and prevailing industries were, in almost the last degree, alien or hostile to him. Hence it came about that the close of the war found large bodies of this element of the population in positions which were highly abnormal.

In the third place, the abrupt conclusion of the slave trade in 1808 and the absence of any considerable immigration of colored people since that date, give a unique clearness and confidence to the statistical study of this element of our population. Substantially all of the 7,500,000 colored persons in the United States to-day are descended from the 700,000 women of this race found in the United States in 1810.

In the fourth place, while white blood has been, in some degree, mixed with colored, it has resulted, partly from the force of the old slave laws, by which the child followed the condition of the mother, and partly from the instinctive sentiments of the people, that all the descendants of those 700,000 colored women are still recognized and grouped together in the census. A man or a woman who is one quarter French or German, or even one half English, Irish, or Scotch, may not be known as such except by family friends; but a man or a woman who has a quarter, perhaps even only an eighth, of negro blood is still recognized as belonging to that race, and is so classed, not only in popular speech, but in the enumerations of the census.

The first census, in 1790, found the colored population of the country 757,208, constituting 19.3 per cent. of the total population. The census of 1810, two years after the abolition of the slave trade, found this element numbering 1,377,808, or 19 per cent. of the total population. Ever since the latter date the increase of the colored element has been less than that of the total population; and at each successive census the colored element has been found to constitute a smaller and still smaller share of the total population. In this last statement I assume a reasonable correction of the admitted defects of the census of 1870 in respect to the colored people of the South.

We do not yet know exactly what was the colored population of 1890 as found by the eleventh census. But the central office at Washington has, with truly remarkable promptitude,

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given us the figures for all the late slave States and for the single free State of Kansas; communities which embraced fifteen sixteenths of this element of the population in 1880. So far, the rate of gain in the ten years intervening has been found to be 13.9 per cent., as against 24.86 per cent. for the entire population of the country. If we apply to the remainder of the colored population of 1880 the same ratio of increase which has been found to exist in that part which has been counted, we shall have the total for 1890 a little under seven and a half millions.

I have spoken of corrections to be made in the figures given for the colored population for 1870. The present census office has estimated the loss out of this element, at that time, to have been three quarters of a million. My own estimate has always placed that loss between three and four hundred thousand. Professor Newton, the eminent mathematician of Yale University, has recently computed it as about 550,000. Calling the loss 510,000, we should then have, in the following table, the statistical history of the colored race within the United States during the first hundred years of the nation's history:

TABLE I.—COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Years.	Colored Population.	Per Cent. of Total Population.	Increase Per Cent.		
			In 10 Years.	In 20 Years.	In 30 Years.
1790,....	757,208	19.3	....	....	....
1800,....	1,002,037	18.9	32.33	....	....
1810,....	1,377,808	19.	37.5	81.96	....
1820,....	1,771,656	18.4	28.59	76.80	133.97
1830,....	2,328,642	18.1	31.44	69.01	132.39
1840,....	2,873,648	16.8	23.4	62.2	108.57
1850,....	3,638,808	15.7	26.63	56.26	105.39
1860,....	4,441,830	14.1	22.07	54.57	90.74
1870,....	5,391,000*	13.8	21.37	48.15	87.59
1880,....	6,580,793	13.1	22.07	48.15	80.25
1890,....	7,500,000*	11.9	13.9	39.12	68.85

Thus while the total population of the country has, during the century, increased sixteenfold, the colored element has increased but tenfold. In 1790 that element constituted nearly one fifth of the population; in 1840, but one sixth; in 1860, but one seventh; in 1890, less than one eighth. The increase per cent.

* Partly estimated.

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within that element itself has tended to a decline since 1810, alike by ten-year periods and by twenty-year periods; while the decline has been continuous by thirty-year periods from the beginning.

These references to the past of the colored race in the United States have been made mainly with a view to clearing the ground for reasonable conjectures regarding its future. What can be said of this? In the first place, a glance at the foregoing table is sufficient to establish a strong probability that the movement there seen to have been so steadily in progress, during eighty years, toward reducing the relative importance of this element in the population of the country, will go on, at least through a considerable future, before it can be arrested; the strongest improbability that this movement will ever, in our future course as a nation, be reversed.

But is there anything to be said on this point beyond what appears on the first glance at our table? Here comes in the significance of one of the considerations adverted to in the opening of this article, viz., that the distribution of the colored people over our land, prior to the outbreak of the civil war, had been very different from what it would have been had only their own natural aptitudes and instincts been consulted in that matter. If this be true, we should expect to find that, during the twenty-five or twenty-seven years since the blacks were left free to move within the country upon their own impulses, social, economical, and climatic forces have been operating to redress the disturbed balance. On this point the evidence of the tenth census could not be very conclusive, especially in view of the disputed count of 1870; but the testimony of the eleventh census, so far as it has yet been given, very clearly shows that a movement is in progress toward the abandonment by the blacks of the higher, colder, and drier lands to which they were carried by the will of the master class.

Unfortunately we have, as yet, only Kansas among the former free States, in the race tables thus far issued by the census office; and the experience of a single State in this respect cannot be held

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to go very far, especially as the numbers concerned are small. We shall, therefore, omit consideration of it.

In the following table we draw into two groups all the other States of which the race statistics are now attainable. The first embraces the middle-southern belt of the old slave States; States in which slavery was quite as much of a political and social as of an economic institution; States in which slaves were held, perhaps, even more from considerations of social dignity and importance or of personal convenience than from considerations of pecuniary gain. These States are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Missouri. With them goes the District of Columbia. In most of these communities the colored element has traditionally been one quarter or less of the whole population, the exceptions being North Carolina, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, where, ten years ago, this element constituted a third or more of the total population. Only two, viz., North Carolina and Tennessee, are considerable cotton States; and in each of these the cultivation of that crop is confined to comparatively small sections. The constitution of the second group speaks for itself.

TABLE II.—COLORED POPULATION OF CERTAIN STATES.

State.	1880.	1890.	Per Cent. of Increase.
Delaware,	26,442	29,022	9.76
District of Columbia,	59,596	75,927	27.40
Kentucky,	271,451	272,981	0.56
Maryland,	210,230	218,004	3.70
Missouri,	145,350	154,131	6.04
North Carolina,	531,277	567,170	6.76
Tennessee,	403,151	434,300	7.73
Virginia,	631,616	640,867	1.46
West Virginia,	25,886	33,508	29.44
Alabama,	600,103	681,431	13.55
Arkansas,	210,666	311,227	47.73
Florida,	126,090	166,678	31.56
Georgia,	725,133	863,716	19.11
Louisiana,	483,655	562,893	16.38
Mississippi,	650,291	747,720	14.98
South Carolina,	604,332	692,503	14.59
Texas,	393,384	492,837	25.28

In the first group, West Virginia and the District of Columbia show a comparatively high rate of increase; but this concerns

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very small populations only. The remaining great masses of the colored people of 1880 in this group show gains far below the average of that element for the whole country. On the other hand, it is noticeable how closely, with the exception of Arkansas, Florida, and Texas (all which had in 1880, and indeed still have, large unoccupied areas), the cotton-planting States keep to that average. The great masses of colored population in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina have increased during the decade at between 13.55 and 19.11 per cent.

Taking the two groups as wholes, we find that the increase of the colored population during 1880–90 has been in the first but five and a half per cent., while in the second it approximated 19 per cent. Meanwhile the increase of white population in all these States greatly outran that of the colored.

Not only has there thus been, as between the first and the second group of States under consideration, a decided tendency to a concentration of the colored element in the cotton-raising States on or near the Gulf, but in certain of the States of either group which have a wide range in altitude there has also been manifested a tendency, though naturally much less marked in force, toward the concentration of that element upon the lower lands. Thus in Georgia, which comprises a vast extent alike of typical "black-belt" cotton lands and of mountain lands suited to manufactures and mining, 48.43 per cent. of the colored population of 1880 lived less than five hundred feet above the sea. In 1890 the ratio had increased to 51.87. In Tennessee, which likewise has a wide range in altitude, the corresponding proportions have increased from 50.52 in 1880 to 52.40 in 1890.

What do such facts as have been adduced from the record of the past ten years indicate regarding the future of the colored race in the United States? I answer, they show that the anticipations which so many Americans have formed, with more or with less of satisfaction, regarding a large continuous increase of that element, up to some ultimate very high point, have little foundation in recent experience. The presiding officer of a Republican State convention two years ago sketched for his auditors a growth of the colored race in the United States, which was to bring them, at no distant future, to a total of fifty millions!

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Of course, the extravagance of this computation was due in great part to the omissions (already referred to in this paper) from the colored census of 1870, which caused a very large apparent gain between that year and 1880. But the unreality of the estimate in question was also in part due to a failure to note the consideration which is intimated in the figures just presented, viz., that the natural field for the colored race is, not strictly, indeed, yet still virtually, circumscribed by climate and industrial conditions. Now, there is much reason to believe that a race that is limited in its range becomes, by that very fact, subject also to important restrictions upon its capabilities of sustained increase within that range. If the growth of the colored race is hereafter to take place mainly within the cotton belt, it is safe to say that it will never reach fifty millions, or a third of that number. I would not presume to say that the evidence which has been offered as to the tendency of the colored people toward concentration within the region referred to is conclusive; but I entertain a strong conviction that the further course of our population will exhibit that tendency in continually growing force; that this element will be more and more drained off from the higher and colder lands into the low, hot regions bordering the Gulf of Mexico.

That in these regions the negro finds his most favorable habitat and environment does not require physiological proof. He is here, in the highest sense, at home. The malarial diseases, so destructive to Europeans in this climate and on this soil, have little power over him. At the same time, the industrial *raison d'être* of the negro is here found at its maximum. In the northern States that *raison d'être* wholly disappears. There is nothing here, aside from a few kinds of personal service, which the negro can do, which the white man cannot do as well or perhaps better. Even upon the high lands of the old slave States, in the upper parts of Alabama or Georgia, for instance, or in the mountain districts of Tennessee and North Carolina, there is little which the negro can do which the white man cannot do equally well. Nay, in the upland cultivation of the cotton crop, I entertain the conviction that the vigorous, resolute white element, free from the incubus of human slavery, will more and more assert itself, large plantations being subdivided into small cotton farms.

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If the foregoing views are approximately correct, the relative decline of the colored population throughout the United States, except in the cotton belt, will be due partly to the more rapid growth of the white element; partly to migration southward from Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and North Carolina, under urgent calls for additional labor in the cotton fields, such as have been so clamorously made during the past few months; partly to the high rate of mortality prevailing among negroes in northern latitudes and even in southern cities.

To illustrate the last point I will take twenty-three counties in the South, containing cities and large towns and having an aggregate population, according to the tenth census, of nearly 600,000 whites and almost exactly as many negroes. In these counties, while the birth rates per 1,000 of living population were for the whites 28.71 and for the colored 35.08, the proportion of those born and dying in the census year, per 1,000 births, was for the whites 100.1 and for the colored 140.08. If, however, we look to the very large cities alone for the statistics of mortality, we find the disproportion between the death rate among the whites and the death rate among the colored much exaggerated, to the disadvantage of the latter. Thus in New Orleans, in the census year 1889–90, the deaths per 1,000 of the living population were for the whites 25.57 and for the blacks 36. In Baltimore the corresponding death rate was for the whites 22.63, for the colored 36.39. In St. Louis the death rate was for the whites 18.19, for the colored 33.78. In Washington (including in this term the whole of the District of Columbia) the corresponding rates were for the whites 19.84, for the colored 38.1. We have not as yet the statistics of mortality for Louisville, Richmond, and Charleston, but in 1880 the proportion of deaths among the two elements of population in these cities was as follows:

Cities.	Deaths per 1,000 of Living Population.	
	White.	Colored.
Louisville,	20.04	34.76
Richmond,	19.12	31.97
Charleston,	23.78	45.

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It will be seen from the foregoing data that the colored population of the United States is at the present time maintaining its relatively slight rate of increase only by means of a very high birth rate, just a little in excess of a very high death rate. This is a very critical situation, since anything which may occur to reduce the birth rate will have no tendency whatever to reduce the death rate. Indeed, in the case of an untrained and ill-developed race, any cause, whether the diminution of marriages or persistence in criminal practices, which diminishes the birth rate is more than likely to accelerate the death rate. Hence we may say that wherever the industrial *raison d'être* of the colored man, distinguished as an economic agent from the white, shall diminish in any part of the country, this is not unlikely to be followed by a decline in this element more rapid than would occur in the case of another element of the population which had been running along on a lower birth rate but with also a lower death rate.

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

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UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN AMERICA.

THE first conscious attempts to introduce English University Extension methods into this country were made in 1887, by individuals connected with the Johns Hopkins University. The subject was first publicly presented to the American Library Association at their meeting upon one of the Thousand Islands in September, 1887.* The idea was heartily approved by Dr. W. F. Poole, of Chicago, and other librarians. It was at once taken up in a practical way by Mr. J. N. Larned, Superintendent of the Buffalo Library, which, with its admirable class rooms, is one of the best equipped libraries in this country for popular educational work. Mr. Larned obtained the services of a Hopkins graduate-student, Dr. Edward W. Bemis, now professor of history and political economy in Vanderbilt University. Mr. Bemis spent twelve weeks in Buffalo in the winter of 1887–88. He gave twelve lectures in one of the class rooms of the library upon "Economic Questions of the Day." His special subjects were: (1) "Causes of Discontent"; (2) "Socialism and Anarchy"; (3) "Henry George's Theory of Rent Taxation"; (4 and 5) "Monopolies"; (6) "Immigration"; (7) "Education"; (8) "Labor Legislation"; (9) "What Determines the Rate of Wages under Perfect Competition"; (10) "Labor Organizations"; (11) "Co-operation and Profit Sharing"; (12) "Taxation in the United States."

There was a printed syllabus, or subject analysis of each lecture, with suggestive references to books, magazine articles, labor reports, etc. All the library material recommended in the syllabus was brought together in a special room of the library, and there Dr. Bemis could be found for consultation at certain hours every working day for twelve weeks. He personified, for the time being, the economic section of the Buffalo Library. People

*See articles on "Seminary Libraries and University Extension," in "Johns Hopkins University Studies," November, 1887.

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came to him for further information upon topics connected with his lectures, and he gave them helpful suggestions as well as good things to read. His course of public instruction, instead of boring a long-suffering community twelve times for sixty minutes, surprisingly interested and instructed them throughout a period of three months. Good citizens began to study political economy. Representatives of capital and labor sat side by side in the class room and asked the lecturer hard questions. It is a very good test of a public speaker if he can hold popular attention upon a serious subject for one hour. Dr. Bemis not only held his audience during that time each week, but he interested his hearers so deeply that, out of an average attendance of 250, more than 200 usually stayed after the lecture for a second hour to hear the class discussion, in which each participant was limited to five minutes. The city papers gave good reports of both lectures and debates; thus the chief lessons of an interesting public course were carried into almost every household in Buffalo.

At the end of the course the Buffalo "Courier" said: "It is a remarkable testimonial to the lecturer's ability and fairness, that without any attempt at rhetorical effect he has been able for twelve weeks to hold together an interested audience of considerable proportions for the discussion of subjects which are usually considered insufferably repelling. One speaker expressed the opinion of many others of the audience last night, when he said that he thought they knew about twelve times as much regarding the subjects discussed as when they began." Mr. Larned in an article on "An Experiment in University Extension," said:* "It was the peculiarity of the course that it brought together the most remarkably mixed company of people that we ever saw assembled in our city. The workingmen were fairly well represented, by the leaders of their organization more particularly; prominent business men and capitalists were usually present; professional men came in numbers; ladies were fully one half the audience. . . . The general result was to awaken in our city a degree of attention to these economic questions which they never received before."

It is important to observe that this lecture course was organ-

* "Library Journal," March-April, 1888.

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ized upon a business basis and more than paid expenses. It led moreover to the formation in Buffalo of a local branch of the American Economic Association, composed of earnest students of economic science. These are the facts regarding one of the first and certainly one of the most successful attempts to introduce University Extension methods into this country. The experiment indicates that public libraries, with convenient class rooms, good management, and good lecturers, may become very efficient means of public instruction. A town library should be the highest of high schools, and may become a local branch of the People's University.

The Buffalo Library experiment was repeated in the winter of 1888–89 by Mr. Edward C. Lunt, a graduate of Harvard University, who gave an excellent course upon "American Political History," with a printed syllabus of topics and good references for the study of each presidential administration. The same winter Dr. Bemis repeated his course on "Economic Questions of the Day" in Canton, Ohio, where he lectured two evenings in the week for a period of five weeks. The course was organized by the Rev. Howard MacQueary and was attended by business and professional men, together with a fair proportion of wage-earners. The Canton experiment, like that of Buffalo, resulted in the formation of a local branch of the American Economic Association, but the course was not a pronounced success, partly because it was not sufficiently advertised, and more especially because it was organized by one clergyman, without the co-operation of others. It is essential for the large success of University Extension in our American towns and cities that it should avoid even the appearance of sectarianism. While class courses can undoubtedly be sustained in connection with individual churches, it is difficult for any such form of public lectures to command the attention of a large community where there are different religious interests. A neutral basis, like a public library, town hall, high school, or local college, should always be sought for University Extension lectures.

The Canton experiment was followed in February, 1889, by another course, conducted by Dr. Bemis, in connection with the Public Library at St. Louis. Mr. F. M. Crunden, the librarian of

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that institution, had become interested in the idea of University Extension at the meeting of the American Library Association in 1887. Encouraged by the success of the Buffalo course, he invited Dr. Bemis, who by that time had become a member of the faculty of Vanderbilt University, in Nashville, Tennessee, to make weekly trips to St. Louis, 318 miles each way, and give lectures on economic subjects in a pleasant room connected with the Public Library. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this course was that it actually was given by Dr. Bemis under the long-range conditions above described. This was University Extension in grim earnest. Experience proved, however, not that Vanderbilt University was too far from St. Louis, but that the library class room of St. Louis was too far from the residence portion of the city to attract a large audience in the evening. A class of moderate size was organized; an excellent class list of works on social science and political economy was printed; and a local branch of the Economic Association was duly formed. Nevertheless the receipts from the St. Louis course did not suffice to pay expenses. It should, however, be observed that the higher education is rarely self-supporting. It requires either endowment or subsidies. In England it is not expected that local lectures can be supported merely by the sale of tickets. From one third to one half the necessary expenses are usually borne by capital and philanthropy. Popular educators should not be discouraged by lack of economic success. A class of seventy-five or one hundred earnest students is an educational triumph. University Extension aims at good classes, not at mass meetings.

About the time when these various experiments were being tried in St. Louis, Canton, and Buffalo, individual members of Johns Hopkins University were attempting to introduce University Extension methods in connection with local lectures in the city of Baltimore. The first practical beginning was made with a class of young people who met once in two weeks, throughout the winter of 1887–88, in the reading room of a beautiful modern church close by the Woman's College. After an introductory talk upon "University Extension" by a Hopkins instructor, the class was intrusted to a graduate student, Mr. Charles M. Andrews, now professor of history in Bryn Mawr

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College, who gave a series of instructive lectures, accompanied by class exercises, upon "The History of the Nineteenth Century," with Mackenzie for a textbook on that subject. A working library of standard authorities was collected by the joint efforts of the leader, the class, and the Rev. John F. Goucher, then pastor of the church. To the hearty and generous co-operation of this gentleman, now the president of the Woman's College of Baltimore, the success of this initial experiment, and indeed of several others, is chiefly due.

Following the young people's course, the like of which is entirely practicable in any church society with a college man for class leader, came a co-operative and peripatetic course of twelve lectures for workingmen on "The Progress of Labor," by twelve different men from the historical department of the Johns Hopkins University. These twelve apostles of extension methods swung around a circuit of three different industrial neighborhoods in Baltimore, each man repeating his own lecture to three different audiences. The subjects were as follows: (1) "The Educational Movement among Workingmen in England and America," by Dr. H. B. Adams, of Baltimore; (2) "What Workingmen in America Need," by C. M. Andrews, of Connecticut; (3) "Socialism, its Strength and Weakness," by E. P. Smith, of Massachusetts; (4) "Chinese Labor and Immigration," by F. W. Blackmar, of California; (5) "Labor in Japan," by T. K. Iyenaga; (6) "Slave Labor in Ancient Greece," by W. P. Trent, of Virginia; (7) "Labor in the Middle Ages," by J. M. Vincent, of Ohio; (8) "Mediæval Guilds," by E. L. Stevenson, of Indiana; (9) "Labor and Manufactures in the United States One Hundred Years Ago," by Dr. J. F. Jameson, then of Baltimore; (10) "Industrial Progress in Modern Times," by H. B. Gardner, of Rhode Island; (11) "Industrial Education," by P. W. Ayres, of Illinois; (12) "Scientific Charity and Organized Self-help," by A. G. Warner, of Nebraska, then General Agent of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore.

Every lecture was accompanied by a printed syllabus in the hands of the audience, and was followed by an oral examination and a class discussion. Every man lectured without other notes than those contained in his outline of topics. The courses were

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organized upon a business basis and not upon the theory of giving something for nothing. This co-operative experiment in University Extension work was, however, only moderately successful. Probably it was more useful to the lecturers than to their hearers. It is the conviction of the writer that it is mistaken zeal for university men to attempt to lecture to workingmen as such, or indeed to any "class of people." University Extension should be for citizens without regard to their occupation.

The most successful educational experiments by Johns Hopkins men have been in connection with Teachers' Associations and Young Men's Christian Associations in Baltimore and Washington. Under such auspices co-operative and class courses in American history and economic and social science, with printed syllabuses, have been given before audiences varying from 150 to 1,000 appreciative hearers. Chautauqua circles in Baltimore have also been found intelligent and responsive to student lectures. Under the direction of Hopkins men a three years' graduate course of study in English history has been successfully carried on by more than one thousand students, who had already finished the four years of required study in the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles. A very elaborate syllabus, based on Green's "History of England" and select volumes of the "Epoch Series," has been the means of guiding this interesting work now in progress in all parts of the country. In connection with the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts more detailed courses in ancient and modern history have been conducted in the same way, with monthly written examinations, the papers being in most cases set and read by Hopkins graduates, working under direction after the manner of Professor W. R. Harper, of Yale University, president-elect of the new university at Chicago, who is the recognized leader in the recent higher educational work of Chautauqua.

The idea of University Extension in connection with Chautauqua was conceived by Dr. J. H. Vincent during a visit to England, in 1886, when he saw the English lecture system in practical operation and his own methods of encouraging home reading in growing favor with university men. The first definite American plan, showing at once the aims, methods, cost, and history, of

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University Extension lectures, was drawn up at Chautauqua by the writer of this article in the early summer of 1888 and was printed in September of that year by the Chautauqua Press. Successive editions of the prospectus were issued in 1889 and 1890. They have proved of suggestive value in many parts of the country where students, returning from Chautauqua, have done local missionary work for the cause of University Extension. The plan has been tried in various places with fair success by a graduate of Yale, Mr. George E. Vincent, of Buffalo, and by a Hopkins man, Professor W. D. McClintock, now of Wells College; but experience has shown that the best opportunity for Chautauqua University Extension is at Chautauqua itself, in the summer season, and in the forty or more local assemblies, where thousands of people meet and where the adaptation of English methods will systematize American popular instruction and give it greater continuity. At the central Chautauqua, in the summers of 1889 and 1890, lecture courses were given upon the extension plan with syllabus, class discussions, and final written or oral examinations. The peculiar combination of college work and public lectures now in vogue at Chautauqua makes the adaptation of these devices an easy matter.

Contemporary with the development of Chautauqua College and University Extension was the plan of Mr. Seth T. Stewart, of Brooklyn, New York, for "University and School Extension." This movement was the natural outgrowth of the Brooklyn Teachers' Association under the progressive leadership of Mr. Stewart, himself a Yale man and a practical educator, whose enthusiasm and generous public spirit deserve hearty recognition. The first public announcement of his project was made November 20, 1888, and contemplated the formation of "a strong bond of sympathy between the public schools and the universities." The main idea was the promotion of courses of reading at home and in social circles along special lines, under the direction of competent professors—a manifest improvement upon earlier Chautauqua methods. First rate men were secured at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia, who prepared very suggestive syllabuses for the guidance of teachers and students in English and other literatures, history, and natural science. Many classes

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were formed and over one thousand teachers in Brooklyn and New York pursued definite courses of study under good guidance in 1889–90. No mention of University Extension lectures was made in the first circular. Indeed, that feature has but recently been developed in New York and Brooklyn (1891), although it was first proposed in the second circular, issued January 1, 1889, and was doubtless contemplated from the outset. It was stated in 1889 that University and School Extension was "primarily intended for teachers in the public schools," but it was believed that others might pursue the studies proposed. This expectation has been realized, and the Brooklyn idea is now attracting wide attention in New York and elsewhere.

Several public meetings were held in New York in 1889–90 for the promotion of University and School Extension. After-dinner addresses were made by President Eliot on "The Universities and the Schools—What Each Can Do for the Other;" by Dr. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, on "What Universities Can Do for the People;" by President Patton, on "Post-Graduate Study." These gentlemen and Presidents Dwight and Low, together with Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, Dr. R. S. Storrs, and other distinguished gentlemen, have sanctioned the Brooklyn and New York movement by their presence at these meetings or by allowing their names to appear in the printed circulars of "University and School Extension."

The most recent phase of this movement was the beginning in March, 1891, of "spring courses" of lectures in New York City. Well-known professors from Princeton, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and the College of the City of New York gave short courses of five lectures in such attractive centers as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cooper Union, Columbia College, and the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, upon such subjects as art and archæology, astronomy, English and German literature, philology, philosophy, and psychology. Syllabuses were used, but the various other features of extension work—written exercises, discussions, and final examinations—do not appear to have been systematically carried out.

Columbia College naturally proved the most attractive centre for University Extension. The lectures on English and Ger-

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man literature, astronomy, and psychology were perhaps best received. There appeared, however, to be difficulty on the part of some lecturers, in presenting their subjects with sufficient clearness and vivacity for a popular audience. This practical defect will doubtless be discovered elsewhere in this country when university men take the lecturer's platform.

One of the most gratifying recent experiments in University Extension in America has been in the city of Philadelphia under the auspices of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. At various local centres Mr. Richard G. Moulton, one of the most experienced lecturers from Cambridge, England, lectured for ten weeks in the winter and spring of 1891 to large and enthusiastic audiences. All the essential features of English University Extension were methodically and persistently carried out. Individual or partial attempts had previously been made here and there in the United States, but Philadelphia deserves the credit of really establishing University Extension in a thorough and systematic way, which promises to be of practical service to the whole country. One of the most remarkable phases of University Extension there was the interest taken by intelligent workingmen in a lecture course on higher mathematics given by Professor Crawley, of the University of Pennsylvania. A petition for such a course was signed by thirty-five machinists, draughtsmen, architects' assistants, and other skilled workers; and the course was actually given, with an average audience of seventy-five attentive hearers. A full account of University Extension in Philadelphia, with a great variety of short essays upon interesting phases of the subject, has lately been published in "The Book News" (Philadelphia, May, 1891).

The American field for University Extension is too vast for the missionary labors of any one society or organization. Our Eastern universities and the State institutions of the West and South, as well as the agricultural colleges throughout the country, have fields all their own, which no association of middle men can work half so well. These fields are white to the harvest, but the laborers are few. It is not the duty of regular professors to go upon long missionary journeys for University Extension. Occasionally perhaps they can give an introductory lecture, or help

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organize a public course near home, but they are not the men for circuit-riding. Their work lies under their very hands. If professors have any leisure, they can employ it more profitably in original investigation or in literary labors. A regular staff of University Extension lecturers should be trained at our best universities, from their own graduate students. These academic fledglings should be taught to fly around the home nest before they attempt distant flights. This is the method of Baltimore, Oxford, and Cambridge. While it is recognized in England that almost anything will pass at college, no young lecturer is allowed to experiment upon an English public until he and his syllabus have been approved by critical academic authorities.

The most significant sign of the times with regard to University Extension in America is the recent appropriation of the sum of $10,000 for this very object by the New York legislature. The money is to be expended under the direction of the Regents of the University of the State of New York. This supervisory body, dating from 1784, embraces all other universities, colleges, and incorporated institutions of academic and higher education within the State, together with the State Library and the State Museum at Albany and such other libraries and museums as may be recognized by the University. The Regents, of whom George William Curtis is the chancellor, are a kind of ministry of public instruction for the whole State. They now have full power to co-operate with localities, organizations, and associations, within State limits, for the purpose of extending to the people at large, adults as well as youth, opportunities and facilities for higher education. No part of the appropriation can be expended in paying for the services of local lecturers. The economic principle of all University Extension is to throw the burden of expense upon the localities benefited. A local course of twelve lectures ought not to cost more than $350. The intention of the New York act is simply to provide the necessary means for organizing a State system of University Extension, to suggest proper methods of work, to secure suitable lecturers, to conduct examinations, to grant certificates, and to render such general assistance and co-operation as localities may require.

The machinery for the conduct of local examinations already

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exists in the State of New York, as it did in England before University Extension was inaugurated. By the act of June 15, 1889, the Regents have full power to establish higher examinations and to confer diplomas of any kind which they may deem proper. They can mark out courses of study and establish requirements for degrees of every sort. They can examine into the conditions and operations of every corporate educational institution in the State, including colleges and universities like Vassar, Cornell, and Columbia. They already disburse annually to local academies over one hundred thousand dollars from existing funds. There is nowhere else in this country an educational body with such comprehensive powers as are now legally vested in the Regents of the University of the State of New York. Through their existing connections with academies, colleges, libraries, and museums, they can utilize some of the best educational machinery in the State for the promotion of University Extension.

A committee representing the New York colleges and universities, appointed by Chancellor Curtis, reported February 9, 1891, in favor of "the establishment and supervision of a State system of university extension, including not only lectures, but such conferences, examinations, and certificates for work done as experience may have proved to be desirable and practicable." This committee, consisting of its chairman, President C. K. Adams, of Cornell, and Presidents Low, of Columbia, Taylor, of Vassar, Hill, of Rochester, and Webster, of Union, further recommended, in order to maintain high university standards, that "the regents work through the representatives of the universities and colleges of the State as a committee having charge of the details of instruction and examination." The University Extension Committee, acting upon this suggestion but without abdicating general control, proposed to the Board of Regents the annual appointment of a University Extension Council, composed of five or more representatives of the colleges and universities in the State, such appointment to be made at University Convocation by the Chancellor, from nominations by the University Extension Committee. The proposed University Extension Council is to advise and co-operate with this committee of the Regents and

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to make to them an annual report upon the subject of University Extension. This entire plan was adopted by the Board of Regents February 11, 1891, and their request for $10,000 for prosecuting the work was granted by the New York legislature, April 16, 1891. The bill has been approved by the Governor.

It now remains for the Regents to appoint a competent University Extension secretary to organize local lecture courses in connection with colleges, universities, libraries, museums, associations, and localities throughout the State. The greatest practical difficulty will be to secure the right sort of men for extension lecturers. The success of the whole experiment will depend upon those who undertake it. "One of the first necessities," says Mr. J. N. Larned, of the Buffalo Library, "is the training of a supply of competent and enthusiastic young lecturers, who will take the field on small pay, for the sake of the introduction it will give them. The difficulty now is to find such."

While the colleges and universities of the country must supply educated men for this service, there ought to be established a State seminary for the practical training and preliminary testing of public instructors. Such a training school might be easily and inexpensively maintained at Albany, where the resources of the State Library would afford admirable opportunities for original research and for the quiet preparation of lecture courses by would-be educators. The best vantage ground, however, for actual experiment would undoubtedly be found in New York City, in connection with Columbia College, museums, missions, college settlements, Cooper Union, the College for the Training of Teachers, and "School and University Extension." The Pratt Institute and the Brooklyn Institute are also centres for good work.

The Secretary of the Regents, Mr. Melvil Dewey, from whose Albany address in July, 1889, on "The Extension of the University of the State of New York," this recent State movement has proceeded, early recognized the possibilities of Chautauqua and other summer assemblies as outposts for practical observation and good training. The State and city of New York are full of good agencies for the promotion of University Extension, and they need only to be utilized. Local colleges, academies, institutes, and museums are all at hand. General conventions of

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Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have declared their approval of the new project of the Regents. University Extension will, moreover, provide an outlet for college graduates and at the same time recruit the supply of students.

Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, in a letter to Mr. Sexton, chairman of the committee on University Extension, of which Mr. Depew is also a member, said, April 13, 1891: "I have made considerble study of the subject, and believe that when the experiment is once made, its benefits will be so great and immediately evident that the institution will become a part of our educational system." George William Curtis, Chancellor of the Regents and a member of the same committee with Mr. Depew, said of University Extension: "The development of this movement and its extraordinary success are the most significant facts in the modern history of education."

The movement originated in the year 1867 in academic lectures to the school teachers and workingmen of the North of England by Professor James Stuart of Cambridge, now member of Parliament. The admirable system of popular instruction which he devised (circuit lectures, with syllabus, class, written exercises, and final examination) was sanctioned by the University of Cambridge in 1873. Oxford followed in 1878. The London Society for the Extension of University Teaching dates from 1876 and is under a joint board of control representing the two great universities and the most important higher educational institutions of the metropolis. By these three principal agencies University Extension has been carried through all England. The Scotch universities, the colleges of Ireland and Wales, and even the distant universities of Australia have followed the good example set by Cambridge. In 1889–90 nearly 400 courses of local lectures were given under the auspices of the Oxford, Cambridge, and London organizations. No less than 41,000 English men and women outside the colleges and universities were reached last year by these extension courses.

So remarkable are the facts concerning the local demand by the English people for higher education that the present seems to be the dawn of a new era. The Reformation introduced a more

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popular spirit into religion. The great revolutions in Holland, England, America, and France opened the way for the democratic spirit in politics. And now science and culture are beginning to recognize the demands of the living age. Lord Bacon long ago said that wisdom for man's self is in many branches thereof a depraved thing, but it has taken centuries for cultivated Englishmen to learn this fact with regard to university education. It is only within a generation that dissenters have had full academic rights at Cambridge and Oxford. The spirit of the Reformation and of modern revolutions must triumph in education as well as in religion and government. New England and America set an example to all the world in the state support of public schools. Old England has led the way to the higher education of adult citizens, men and women, but Americans have already advanced one step further than has the mother country, for New York has provided for a State system of University Extension. She must work out the experiment with great caution and not cripple in any way the spirit of local self-help. Not a dollar should be granted to localities or institutions to enable them to enjoy academic lectures. General supervision and encouragement of local efforts should be the function of the university in New York and in every other State. If the universities will not co-operate, let the people help themselves by an appeal to local talent, or to the nearest college, or to the legislature. Communities desiring local lectures should put themselves into communication with their State university or with the most important educational institution in their vicinage.

The conditions of permanent success for University Extension in this country are so different from those in England that we must look forward to the establishment of a greater number of illuminating centres. The State universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota are already in organic relations with popular educational institutions throughout wide areas and have only to utilize existing connections for the successful promotion of University Extension in the great North-west. Into this vast field will soon enter the new University of Chicago with its elaborate federal system and avowed sympathy with the cause.

HERBERT B. ADAMS.

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OPERATION OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW.

On April 5, 1887, an act of Congress became effective, bearing the comprehensive title of "An Act to Regulate Commerce." It was an entirely new departure in federal legislation. Its authority rests upon a constitutional provision which confers upon Congress power "to regulate commerce . . . among the several States," the extent and limitations of which have never been judicially determined.

The railroads of the United States are creatures of State legislation. There has been no governmental supervision of railway construction. New lines have everywhere been authorized with the utmost freedom by the various States and Territories, and leases, purchases and consolidations have been easily arranged in which State lines have been altogether disregarded. The railroad system has been a most potent agency for the practical unification of our country by quietly obliterating territorial divisions, while threading the land with a network of iron rails along which interstate commerce moves without rest.

The course pursued in establishing this modern transportation facility has been so hasty and inconsiderate that the fundamental relation of the Nation to the several railroad corporations is to this day unsettled. From the outset the public has confided implicitly in what it has been pleased to call the "principle of free competition." While railway charters have usually contained a clause authorizing each company to fix its rates and fares, it was always practicable to provide a competing line when rates were thought unjust. Competing lines have been multiplied and expanded, until their very number is now the source of the most serious practical difficulties connected with our domestic commerce.

This universal reliance upon competition as the safeguard of the public has had two noticeable results: first, it has tended to entrench railroad managers in the belief that the public was

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protected sufficiently thereby, and that carriers by rail, like carriers by sea, were entitled to fix rates at will, subject only to the control of competitive conditions. This view was supported by the fact that in the charters no supervisory control over railway rates was reserved; and the doctrine that a charter is a contract, the obligation of which the legislatures are forbidden to impair, has been relied upon as definitely committing the rate-making power to the corporations themselves. This construction was first shaken by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1876, in what have since been known as the "Granger cases," wherein a general supervisory power over the charges of common carriers was asserted as existing in the State legislatures at common law, superior to charter clauses. This decision was not unanimous, and the reasoning presented was not so convincing as to command universal acceptance. It was at once challenged by the corporations, and has been from time to time attacked in the same tribunal; it has not yet been withdrawn but it has been materially modified, notably in a case from Minnesota decided in 1890, when it was established that there is a limit beyond which the State cannot go in reducing railway rates, which limit would be passed in case a State should attempt to deprive a corporation of its property without due process of law, by fixing rates too low to permit of a fair remuneration for its use. A large debatable ground yet remains open, with a possibility that the position of the railway in federal jurisprudence may eventually be radically modified.

In the second place, in its practical working, competition bred discrimination. The evils of unjust discrimination in railway methods cannot be too vividly portrayed. As time went on they became more and more pronounced, until they were too great to be endured. Legislative investigations were demanded. Laws forbidding partiality were enacted here and there, experimental and often inefficient, but usually based upon an English statute passed in 1854, when Parliament had the sagacity to take this evil by the throat in its youth and strangle it. Finally Congress took the matter up. Its action was from time to time postponed, upon the idea that the States which had created the railroads should be left to deal with them; until Congress and the country

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in 1886 were surprised by a decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the Wabash Railway Company *vs.* the State of Illinois, which declared that a State law against discrimination had no validity in respect to interstate shipments, even though Congress had wholly refrained from action upon the subject. Upon the heels of this decision the report of the Select Committee on Interstate Commerce came up for consideration in the Senate.

This report summed up the necessity for federal legislation in a series of "Complaints against the railroad system of the United States," eighteen in number, all of which were merely specifications under one general charge—discrimination. The bill recommended to the Senate might properly have been named An Act to Prevent Railway Discrimination. Its machinery and details were all directed to the accomplishment of that result.

Yet in admitting the wrong and approving the application of a proper remedy, it is only just to remember that the evil was not altogether or chiefly the fault of railway managers. On the contrary it was perceived by them more clearly and deprecated by them more seriously than by any other class of the community. It was the natural and logical outgrowth of the unforeseen and extraordinary violence of railway competition. In order to secure traffic a railway official felt called upon to underbid his rival. He gave the shipper a private rate, a rebate, a free pass—anything in the shape of a concession or a favor. The land was honeycombed with special arrangements of innumerable forms, all secret, because otherwise they would have been useless, and all forced upon the carriers by the exigencies of unbridled competition. Many shippers became wealthy from such gains. Others were envious of like success. At last the public sense of justice demanded a reform.

The remedy proposed was the forbidding of unjust discrimination under pains and penalties. That was the essence of the Interstate Commerce law. In other words, the result was prohibited while the cause was left in full operation. It was thought that free and unrestricted competition must be maintained as an essential principle of the American railway system. The symptoms of a disease had been submitted to diagnosis and a treatment for the malady was prescribed, while its cause was

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allowed to remain in full force. It was not perceived that competition might be regulated in its excesses without by any means effacing it altogether. Legislation assumed the singular attitude of demanding that the most extreme competition be preserved, while prohibiting it to be carried on in the most direct and efficient way.

It should be said that the committee of the Senate which originated the law was not altogether responsible for the adoption of this illogical position. The law as at first passed in the Senate imposed upon interstate carriers the three obligations of just and reasonable rates, the avoidance of all unjust discrimination, and the cessation of undue preferences or advantages. The principal agency provided for their enforcement was publicity; tariffs were required to be published and filed as a public record, and thereupon to be maintained without deviation; a Commission was erected to assist in the enforcement of these provisions; full statistics were demanded. In this form intelligent railway managers, who had followed the course of the investigation and the framing of the law with great interest, were quite generally willing to accept the supervision of a national authority in lieu of the conflicting and at times impracticable attempts at State regulation which had previously embarrassed them; and the proposed legislation was welcomed as affording some promise of escape from the meshes of the unfortunate system of discriminations in which unwillingly they had become involved.

During the closing weeks of the Forty-ninth Congress the Senate bill was considered by the House of Representatives, where it fell into the hands of legislators who were desirous of imposing more inflexible rules. They insisted upon giving it a greater severity of form, and at the same time adopting features which were designed to make the amelioration of competition impossible; in other words, they proposed to stamp out the disease by force, but at the same time to stimulate the miasm which was its cause. An amended bill was passed in the House which radically changed the proposed enactment; a Committee of Conference followed; and in the closing days of the session an agreement was patched up to which the Senate finally assented, although many senators who had supported the original measure

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recorded their votes against it. In this way the Act to Regulate Commerce was passed, the two principal features grafted on the measure by the action of the House being the short-haul clause and the anti-pooling clause, with other changes in the direction of greater stringency.

Upon its publication railway managers were startled, and some of them were disposed to active opposition. The general sentiment among them, however, was that there was much of good in the new law, particularly in its anti-discrimination features, and that it should be given a fair trial in the belief that time would bring such corrections as might be found necessary. Arrangements were, therefore, made for the printing and filing of tariffs, and rate sheets were overhauled for the purpose of eliminating so far as possible such unjust discrimination as was apparent upon their face. Of course discriminations in railway rates are necessary; for example, the rate upon silk and upon sand should not be the same, and the question is often a doubtful one whether a particular discrimination is or is not unjust. The determination of this question, arising in innumerable forms, is the matter which has chiefly occupied the attention of the Commission since the passage of the law.

The furnishing of statistics was also accepted by the roads as a proper and perhaps a useful requirement, and has been developed into a thorough and complete series of returns in which all railway companies now participate, not only those which cross State boundaries but also those located within single States which are engaged through their connections in interstate traffic. This feature of the law is in a fair way eventually to bring about a universal assimilation of statistical returns throughout the country, which when accomplished will be of almost incalculable value to the public as well as to the roads themselves.

Reviewing its effect upon railway rates, the operation of the law is seen to have intensified former conditions. Since the conclusion of the civil war the tendency of railway rates in the United States has been uniformly downward, under the pressure of competitive conditions whose force cannot be appreciated by persons outside the circle of traffic officers who directly feel their constant burden. In 1865 the rate per ton per mile was from three to

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four times greater than in 1885. When the act in question took effect, railway rates in the United States, especially the long-distance freight rates on which interstate traffic is moved, had reached a plane so low as to be the wonder of the world. It was recognized at that time that except in isolated cases the rates were generally low enough; and the Senate committee were careful to explain that the need of the public was not so much lower rates as non-discriminating and non-fluctuating rates. The public is vitally interested to have the carriers earn enough to enable them to operate their property efficiently, with safety to persons and property, and to insure a reasonable compensation for the employment of the necessary capital.

The forces which drove rates downward during the twenty years previous to the enactment of the statute have since continued in play, and other potent influences in the same direction have been added by the law. For example, the short-haul rule involved large immediate reductions, and continues to impose the requirement that rates at intermediate points shall be shrunk whenever competition forces lower rates at more distant points on the same line. Again, it was formerly customary to restrict competitive concessions to a narrow circle of patrons whose interests were more directly involved, or whose traffic was important and valuable, while now any rate made to one must be published as an open rate to all, and cannot be restored without giving ten days' public notice. The changes in the classification of freight which have been made necessary in order to comply with the provisions of the law have also reduced freight charges materially.

In the Appendix to the Fourth Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission will be found an elaborate report, prepared by the Auditor of the Commission, Mr. C. C. McCain, in which a careful comparison is instituted between the classifications and rates in force previous to the passage of the law and those now in use; details are exhaustively stated concerning every section of the country, and also in respect to nearly all the more important articles of traffic, extending even to the local rates of a large number of typical roads. The facts given are startling and will well repay examination. They are confirmed

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by the reports of the decreasing rate per ton per mile found in the statistical tables. They are summed up in the following concluding paragraph: "What has here been given will show conclusively that the tendency of freight rates throughout the country is downward, and that this tendency is largely due to the Act to Regulate Commerce."

Whether this result is or is not of ultimate advantage to the public may be open to question. It is undeniable that a point must at some time be reached where further rate reductions will seriously inconvenience the public by becoming the occasion of unwise and perhaps fatal reductions of expenditures in railway maintenance and service, as well as the cause of bankruptcies and the commercial disasters which follow in their train. The obvious requirement in this regard is some provision for the alleviation of exaggerated and unhealthy competition.

This condition of affairs, though worthy of very serious consideration, is nevertheless an indirect result. "The underlying purpose and aim of the measure," said the Senate Committee, "is the prevention of discriminations, both by declaring them unlawful and adding to the remedies now available for securing redress and enforcing punishment, and also by enforcing the greatest practicable degree of publicity as to the rates, financial operations, and methods of management of the carriers." It becomes, therefore, important to inquire to what extent the operation of the law has proved its usefulness in the accomplishment of this its main object, the prevention of unjust discrimination.

Speaking broadly, the history of discriminations since the passage of the law may be summed up as exhibiting a series of yearly waves, sometimes general throughout the land and sometimes more closely localized, but always distinctly marked and easily acounted for. When the law first went into operation it was felt that a new era had arrived. The statute demanded the undeviating and inflexible maintenance of the published tariff rates. Rebates, drawbacks and all "other devices" whereby a carrier should receive from one person "greater or less compensation for any service rendered" than from another for a like service, were expressly declared unlawful and were punishable by a heavy fine. This was just what conservative and influ-

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ential railway managers desired. It was not only just, but it protected their revenues. The new rule was cheerfully accepted and imperative orders were issued for its obedience. But toward the close of 1887 it began to be perceived that there were difficulties, which became much more serious in 1888. On even rates the traffic naturally flowed to the direct lines, which could give the best service and make the best time. Roads less direct or of less capacity, roads with higher grades or less advantageous terminals and roads otherwise at a disadvantage, found that business was leaving them. It was discovered that the law in this its most essential feature, as well as in other respects, was practically a direct interference by the government in favor of the strong roads and against the weak. Dissatisfaction arose among officials of roads whose earnings were reduced and which were often near the edge of insolvency. It had been customary for them to obtain business by rebates and other like devices, and they knew no other method. It presently became to some of them a case of desperation. There was nothing in the law specifically forbidding the payment of "commissions," and it was found that the routing of business might be secured to a given line by a slight expenditure of that nature to a shipper's friend. Other kindred devices were suggested, some new, some old; the payment of rent, clerk hire, dock charges, elevator fees, drayage, the allowance of exaggerated claims, free transportation within some single State—a hundred ingenious forms of evading the plain requirements of the law—were said to be in use. The demoralization was not by any means confined to the minor roads; shippers were ready to give information to other lines concerning concessions which were offered them, and to state the sum required to control their patronage. A freight agent thus appealed to at first perhaps might let the business go, but when the matter became more serious and he saw one large shipper after another seeking a less desirable route, he was very apt to throw up his hands and fall in with the procession.

Meanwhile nothing was done in the way of the enforcement of the law. It was found that the sixth or administrative section had been so framed as to require the exact maintenance of the tariffs of each carrier, but that this important provision had

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been omitted respecting "joint tariffs," in which two or more carriers participate; rates upon interstate traffic are usually joint. Moreover, the methods pursued were kept secret and were exceedingly difficult of proof. Traffic managers were naturally unwilling to make complaints or to furnish proof against each other, and often their houses were of glass. Shippers were very prompt to see the situation and to strike for every advantage which they could obtain, playing one road against another, often misrepresenting the facts as to what other lines would do, and always receiving the benefit of the violation of the law in cash or its equivalent.

Toward the end of the second year came a reaching out for a remedy. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress amendments to the law were adopted by which shippers as well as carriers were made subject to its penalties, and the punishment of imprisonment was added to the fine in cases of unjust discrimination; joint tariffs were also distinctly brought within the jurisdiction of the Commission and the courts.

These amendments became effective March 2, 1889, and their influence was immediately felt. While traffic officers had been willing to take the risk of a fine, believing that their corporation would stand behind them, the possible imprisonment was purely personal and alarming; shippers of integrity refused knowingly to become law breakers; the Commission felt its hands strengthened by the new provisions which for the first time placed interstate tariffs fully under the law; and the roads combined in agreements intended to assist in the suppression of unjust discrimination. The third year therefore exhibited an almost entire cessation of the use of illegitimate methods for securing business, and until near its close little complaint was heard. The fourth year, 1890, witnessed a renewed relaxation of the spirit of obedience. The conditions that had prevailed in 1888 again became pressing, and evasions secretly inaugurated were not efficiently dealt with; for a considerable time no prosecutions were commenced; customers began to renew their appeals for favors, or as they term it, for relief; and it was presently a common statement among shippers and traffic agents that the law was after all a dead letter, and that its penalties need not be feared. A short corn

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crop added its pressure by threatening a deficiency in the usual tonnage; and at the end of last year, although irregularities were more carefully concealed, they were generally believed to exist to a considerable extent. During the year three or four indictments against railway traffic agents were found by grand juries in different parts of the country, two or three shippers were also indicted for fraudulent practices; and one railway officer had been brought to trial, convicted and fined. A new obstacle, however, had been developed in the way of enforcing the penal provisions of the law; shippers and railway officials refused to testify before grand juries, upon the ground that by so doing they would incriminate themselves or the companies of whose books and vouchers they were the fiduciary custodians. The point was held by the local courts not to be well taken, but it is pending for review in the Supreme Court of the United States. This contention, if sustained, should not necessarily block prosecutions under the law, except in cases where evidence of the offense is impossible to be obtained otherwise than from the guilty parties; a condition which exists concerning other penal statutes.

With the commencement of the present year, 1891, a determined effort has been made, in which most of the lines west of Chicago and the Mississippi River are participating, to put down by concerted action the cutting of rates. The association has shown strength, and at the present writing there are no intimations that these provisions of the law are not obeyed by the lines referred to. It is only fair to add that in the Southern States there has been less complaint that the sections of the law which forbid unjust discriminations between shippers and which require the maintenance of tariff rates have not been obeyed. The difficulty in our Eastern, Central and Western States arises from the multiplicity of lines, many of which would find themselves impoverished by that strict maintenance of rates which is by far the most important requirement of the public in respect to transportation by rail.

The operation of the law in this respect leads directly to the question of the railway pool. How shall each existing company be assured a fair share of such business as is common to all?

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It is demonstrable that participation in common or competitive business is essential to the existence of the several roads. The public expects such participation, otherwise the construction of the various lines was unjustifiable. But this participation is obstructed by the Act to Regulate Commerce, which makes illegal the offering of special pecuniary inducements in order to attract traffic to lines in any respect inferior to the best. In its present form the act might well be entitled An Act to Promote Railway Bankruptcies and Consolidations by Driving Weak Roads out of Competitive Business.

It seems to have been the idea of legislators that lines which found it necessary to do so might reduce their tariff rates. This would be useless, for at once a similar reduction would be made by all. The spirit of competition is as violent in the management of strong roads as of weak ones, and an attempt upon the part of inferior lines to employ tariff reductions as a means for obtaining traffic would ruin them in short order. Rare occasions have arisen in which stronger lines by agreement have consented to the establishment of a lower scale of rates upon competing roads less favorably situated. The most noticeable example of this is found among the trunk lines, where the Pennsylvania, the New York Central and the Baltimore & Ohio permit the Erie, the Lehigh Valley, the West Shore, the Lackawanna, the New York, Ontario & Western, the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Central Vermont to "enjoy" a lower scale of tariff rates than themselves on west-bound business from the Atlantic seaboard to Chicago; and where the latter roads in turn are conceded tariffs increasingly below the standard rates of the stronger lines, according to their respective degrees of disability in the competitive struggle. This arrangement is favorable to the public in that it gives shippers the option of a slightly lower rate for a little longer time or less adequate service, with the privilege of having the best by paying a trifle more for it. It operates in practice to effect a distribution of the traffic, somewhat roughly, giving rise to frequent dissensions and bickerings over the "differentials" which are allowed; but after all it has enabled the trunk lines usually to secure a better maintenance of tariff rates and a better observance of the provisions of the law against pri-

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vate rebates and discriminations than has been attainable in other sections of the country where different conditions make such an arrangement impracticable. It vividly illustrates, however, the necessity of some plan by which common business may be divided, and the fact that the working of such an agreement is directly and positively in support of the fundamental object proposed by the framers of the Interstate Commerce law. The new agreement among the Western roads alluded to above, is based upon an apportionment of the business in competition, which it is expected may in some way be attained, and without which an agreement in aid of the provisions of the law against discriminative practices would be comparatively useless.

The railway pool as it formerly existed, which is forbidden by the Act to Regulate Commerce, had primarily this for its object. It was an arrangement by which, at stated periods, the common business of competing lines was aggregated and apportioned upon agreed percentages, the lines in excess paying over to the lines in deficit such sums as were required to produce the necessary equalization among the shares of traffic assigned to the several roads. This custom has almost universally prevailed in other countries where a national or otherwise concentrated railway ownership has not supervened. The English law against unjust discrimination has been constantly supported by a system of railway pools, without which it is safe to say that the suppression of discriminations would have been impossible. Our federal statute, however, contained a clause of special severity against the pooling of freight; a fine of five thousand dollars was provided, and it was enacted that each day of the continuance of the agreement should be deemed a separate offense. Pools, therefore, were abandoned in 1887. It may be stated without fear of contradiction that if the carriers had been left free to make arrangements among themselves upon which each line might rely for eventually receiving in some form a fair share of competitive traffic, the temptation for secret rate cutting would have been in great measure removed, and the country would have been spared most of the traffic disturbances and illegitimate contrivances for buying business which have since been periodically rife.

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A thorough system of pools would not by any means eliminate competition. It would to some extent ameliorate it, and the amelioration, or more properly the regulation of unhealthy competition, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the American system of independent railways. But there would still remain a thousand matters in respect to which competition would remain free to expend its force, not the least being the constant struggle for a revision of the pool percentages, which impels every line to do its best.

It must be frankly conceded that there were evils connected with the pooling system as it formerly existed. At times pool agreements may have been used to obtain excessive rates; although, as has been shown, the general tendency of rates was rapidly downward. It was possible for an adjustment of percentages to be established so widely out of line as to result in the imposition of too heavy a burden upon some strong road, at the ultimate expense of its patrons; but statistics show that the payments in the long run were generally equalized in substantial accordance with the reasonable current of traffic, and that the balances transferred had no appreciable effect upon the rates charged. It was a fact that the existence of the system at times stimulated unnecessary and uncalled-for railway construction, but that is a matter which the State should have controlled in its own interest. The employment of the pooling system had not prevented the existence of discriminations, but it had held them down, to a marked degree, wherever it was introduced. It is not claimed that the practice was wholly free from objections, or that it had been able unaided to cure every evil; but it was the best plan known and the only plan known to accomplish the objects aimed at—objects of supreme importance to the public and the carriers alike. Instead of controlling its possible tendencies to harm, which might readily have been done by its legalization under proper regulation as to reasonable rates, etc., the mistake was made of destroying the system altogether, and providing no substitute. The best judicial authorities now hold that agreements in partial restraint of competition are not necessarily against public policy, nor void under the common law unless they are intended or have the effect to produce excessive exac-

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tions; that when they are designed and employed to protect against ruinous competition they are commendable and should be supported by the courts. The object of the pooling system was to assist the roads in maintaining just and stable rates, and in exterminating unjust discrimination. It should have been seized upon by Congress and made use of as an aid to the enforcement of the law. It would have been a most powerful auxiliary to that end.

Since 1872, railway carriers have been casting about to discover some means by which they could conform to the requirements of the law, requirements which they concede are chiefly just and proper, without the assistance of the pooling system. They have now reached the point where it has become clear that their efforts will altogether fail unless some form of division of business can be arrived at. This is as yet in an experimental stage. It is believed not to contravene the fifth section of the statute. However this may be finally decided, the time has come when it is clear that there is nothing else left to be done; and if the point is raised its decision will be left to the courts, together with the broader question of the constitutionality of a statute which undertakes to select this single class of beneficial contracts for adverse legislation.

The fourth, or "short-haul" section of the law has received perhaps an exaggerated importance in the public mind by reason of the fact that while the preceding sections denounce unreasonable rates, unjust discrimination and undue preferences and advantages in general terms, this section purports to state a concrete rule, of easy apprehension. It was seized upon by the press as the leading feature of the law, and its results have been kept prominently in view. In fact, however, this provision was merely the statement of what should be *prima facie* evidence of an undue preference or advantage, in a single aspect of that hydra-headed evil. Although it overturned customs, rate sheets and classifications of long standing in every part of the land, and involved an immense loss of revenue upon short-distance traffic, it was quite generally submitted to by the roads. Probably eighty per cent. of the instances in which a greater charge had previously been made upon a shorter than upon a longer

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haul on the same line of transportation were at once eliminated from the tariffs, usually by reducing the rate formerly charged for the shorter distance.

There were many cases, however, in which the application of the rule was felt by carriers to be a grievous burden, and some in which it appeared that it would imply serious financial disaster. It was soon perceived that the section did not contain, as was at first supposed, a hard and fast rule, but that its application was limited by the words "under substantially similar circumstances and conditions." The construction of that phrase became the pivot about which discussion turned. The result reached was in accord with the construction previously given to similar language, and the "conditions" in respect to which similarity should exist were taken to include the competition of other carriers, chiefly those not subject to the law.

The country is full of cases which when analyzed show that there is no actual injustice in the apparent preference. This was fully recognized by the Commission, which ruled that under this clause of the law dissimilar circumstances and conditions entitling a carrier by rail to make a lesser charge for the longer than for the shorter haul might be made out in cases of actual competition with carriers by water not subject to the law, with foreign or purely State railroads not subject to the law, and also in rare and peculiar cases of competition with other railroads which are subject to the law where the general rule would be destructive of legitimate competition. Without further elaborating the cases thus distinguished, it may be said that the conclusion thus reached was generally accepted by the roads, and that the section as thus construed has been quite uniformly obeyed, not only in the preparation of standard tariffs, but also during rate wars.

The most important effect of this provision upon the roads has been the loss which it has entailed in continuing competition for through business over routes longer than the most direct line to a given terminal. Many well-established routes of traffic are quite circuitous, and some that are in active use are nearly twice as long as the short line. Business for local points upon

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routes of this character would naturally be carried upon tariffs graded increasingly with the distance; but when a point is reached where the rate is as high as the rate by the short line to the distant terminal, the law forbids any further advance, and the road was given the alternative of reducing its intermediate rates or retiring from the competitive business. This condition is found in every part of the country; and the value of participation in the through business usually has been felt to require the acceptance of the sacrifice demanded by the law at local stations. The statute, in this respect also, favors the direct lines against those which have a greater mileage, by making it much more expensive for the latter to continue to compete with the former.

The operation of this rule has been in some respects a surprise to the public. It has removed from many jobbing centres important advantages which they previously had, and has enabled interior communities, formerly of little apparent consequence, to deal directly with distant markets. Interior manufacturing points have also felt its blight. In other words, it has worked to the advantage of the great points of importation, production and distribution, and to the disadvantage of the minor cities and towns which had formerly been known as jobbing points or trade centres within the various States in the interior of the country. This tendency soon became so marked that the jobbers in some of the States labored for, and in some instances were able to obtain, State legislation which was designed, and which had the effect, to partially nullify the principles of the Interstate Commerce law.

This suggestion leads to a remark without which any consideration of this subject would be incomplete, namely, that the interstate commerce of the country cannot be efficiently and satisfactorily regulated until the entire internal commerce, that within as well as that which crosses State boundary lines, is made subject to the same laws and is controlled by the same rules. The Commission has clearly pointed out how close and interdependent are the relations between State and interstate transportation, and how the exercise of State authority in the regulation of State traffic by rail must necessarily embarrass the

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regulation of interstate traffic by Congress. It would be easy to multiply examples of this, drawn not only from considerations like those presented above, but also from the actual interdependency of State and interstate rates.

The possible effect of the law upon traffic in goods imported from or exported to foreign countries, in its relation to purely domestic commerce, presents another important subject. Recent rulings of the Commission, as yet but little understood, will lead to great changes in existing trade relations if carried to their logical results. If the interpretation given by the Commission to the law in its present form is correct, and the statute makes illegal all through rates to and from foreign countries which are not made by adding to the ocean rate the local rate of each line to or from its seaboard terminal, the Interior and Western States will probably refuse to permit it to continue long without material modification.

It will be perceived that the foregoing review of the operation of the Interstate Commerce law has been written by a believer in its fundamental principles and in the propriety of federal legislation upon this subject. Changes in Congressional enactments are exceedingly difficult. The consideration of important commercial legislation is too often evaded upon purely political considerations, or pushed aside in favor of private or local matters. Sufficient time has elapsed to bring out the more obvious imperfections of the law, which has now been thoroughly tested, and has profoundly affected railway management in every part of the country. Among its indirect results may be noted a hesitation to engage in important railway construction, and an increased tendency toward the consolidation of lines and the unification of interests, arising largely from the severity of its pressure upon the weaker roads. Unregulated competition is essentially self-destructive.

ALDACE F. WALKER.

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ARE OUR IMMIGRANTS TO BLAME?

THE immense increase, during the last two decades, of the number of immigrants arriving in the United States—the number being twice as large in the last ten years as in the decade from 1870 to 1880—has deservedly attracted the public attention. Fears of its consequences are expressed by men animated with a desire to promote the public welfare and to prevent dangers to the future security and permanency of our institutions. The national legislature has appointed committees to investigate the subject and has proposed measures that may prevent, or at least mitigate, the evils arising from this source. The competition and the struggle of life, selfishness, and patriotism have increased the cry for protection against the evil of immigration and the demand for more or less stringent restrictions against it. The question is of so much importance, that every proposition or measure affecting it should be carefully weighed and examined to ascertain whether the evils complained of are really the results of our large immigration or can be attributed to other causes than those lying at the surface; or at least whether they are not aggravated by circumstances entirely independent of the size and character of the immigration. In short, it is to be carefully considered whether the remedies recommended may not increase the evil instead of mitigating it, and may not be worse than the disease to be cured by their application.

Men are always ready to shift to the shoulders of others the responsibility for the misfortunes which are the results of their own follies, and the American people may be only too willing to listen to appeals for the enactment of restrictive laws, especially if they appear clothed in the garb of patriotic phrases, although it may not be difficult to prove that they emanate from race prejudice, shortsightedness, and selfishness, or that their source is, to put it mildly, rather Chauvinism than patriotism.

The importance which immigration has played in the devel-

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opment of the United States can hardly be overlooked even by the most superficial observer. Considering only the size of our population, if the increase of it had been dependent entirely upon the natural increa e—that is, on the surplus of births over deaths —the population at present would be hardly more than one-third of what it is. The increase of the population of France was only one half of one per cent. during the six years preceding 1890. In Germany it was 1.006 per cent. The average increase in all the European states from 1820 to 1880 was one per cent. If the same progress had been made in the United States from the year 1790, when it showed a population of 3,929,214, it would be to-day only 14,734,551. Even taking into account the addition of Louisiana Territory, Florida, and Texas, and assuming the most favorable conditions for the increase of our numbers, the population to-day, on a very liberal estimate, could not without immigration exceed 25,000,000. From all indications the prospects for the future are worse yet, and the publications of the tabular statements about the population from the census taken last year, may disclose facts that will alarm intelligent and patriotic citizens. Even taking into consideration the marvellous energy of the American people, their gigantic enterprise, their inventive genius and their eminent faculty for utilizing and applying inven tions, their astonishing talent of organization, the tenacity and perseverance with which they fight against seemingly insurmountable obstacles; with all these and other valuable gifts, which are justly considered the most prominent characteristics of the native citizens of the United States, it would have been a physical impossibility for them, unaided, to have controlled and subdued nearly the whole North American continent, to have built 170,000 miles of railroads, to have opened and improved enormous water-ways, and to have populated 1,500,000 square miles of territory, all within a single century. All that we see to-day in the American people—their wealth, their immense achievements, their industrial enterprises—could certainly not have been accomplished to such an extent without the constant inflow of immigrants.

But all the advantages above indicated—even if they were greater than they are and could be attributed to a greater extent to the assistance of immigration than the facts justify—

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would have been too dearly bought, if it could be proved that immigration has tended to deteriorate the national character of the people of the United States, and consequently endangers the future and the permanency of our free institutions. On the first view it would appear to be dangerous to introduce annually into the body politic a large foreign element; and without the mysterious and phenomenal power of assimilation possessed by the people of the United States, there is no doubt that this constant and great inflow of foreigners would already have swamped and annihilated the most valuable features of the American character.

I have a very lively remembrance of the impressions I received on the occasion of my arrival in the United States about forty years ago. I had become an ardent admirer of American institutions, from what I had learned of them in my college studies. The ship that brought me over was scarcely fastened at the dock before I ran up the nearest street, and, standing in Broadway near the Astor House, observed the passers-by. From their appearance they were mostly men who worked for a living, but nearly every one of them bore himself as if he was a sovereign. The expression of their eyes seemed to say, "I am second to none; there is nothing so great and so high that I cannot accomplish it, and I intend to fight my way." Not speaking English, I saw that it would be impossible for me to obtain a situation where I could utilize the knowledge acquired during my university studies; and having no means to speak of, I took a few days later a position as common laborer in a factory, although I had never done a stroke of manual work in my life before. After a few hours my fingers were full of blisters, and in a few hours more the blood was running down my hands; but I had been inspired with the energy that I saw in the eyes of those men on my arrival, and I continued, not disheartened by pains or difficulties in my work. I had received the baptism of the real American spirit, and I was never so proud of anything as of the blisters on my hands in consequence of my labor.

I mention these facts to show in a concrete case the really incomprehensible power and influence of the American atmosphere in the assimilation of foreign elements. It may have taken a little more time for others to have experienced the same effects,

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but the result was the same with all, unless they were depraved and became the victims of vice and dissipation. That the admiration and loyalty of these adopted citizens of the United States were something more than mere words was proved during the civil war, when they answered the call for the preservation of the Union as willingly as the native-born citizens, and sacrificed their lives for their adopted country. It is impossible to ascertain the exact proportion of adopted citizens that served in the Union army, but it can certainly be asserted that they were inspired with as much patriotism as the native-born Americans and fought as gallantly for the preservation of the Union as their comrades who had been to the manner born. Even the State of Wisconsin, more than one-half of whose inhabitants are foreign-born citizens, and which General Grosvenor called a European province, furnished as many regiments to the Union army, in proportion to its population, as any other State.

But, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that symptoms are appearing in our public and private life of a decay in the character of our people. The only question is: Are they the results of the influence of immigrants, or of other causes which corrupt the native-born citizen as well as the immigrant? The tendency toward the centralization of wealth and power is the most characteristic symptom that has appeared in the development of our public and economic life during the last thirty years. It has undermined the self-reliance of our citizens and induced them to look to the government as a paternal power for help and assistance. It has induced them to engage in a vile chase for success, irrespective of principle and virtue. It has beguiled them into aping foreign customs and habits. It has made them forget that American citizenship is the highest type and has caused them so far to lose their self-respect that they importune our ministers in Europe for introductions at court, and consider it their greatest ambition to splurge in all sorts of extravagances. This degeneration certainly cannot be traced to the influence of immigration. A dozen titled adventurers coming over here from Europe, who are introduced into the best circles, who turn the heads of the belles of society and who induce our "dudes" to imitate their snobbish follies, contribute more to corrupt the

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habits and customs of the best classes of our people, who consider themselves pre-eminently American, than a million of poor immigrants. One of the saddest results of these changes in the habits and character of our people is their disinclination to have large and numerous families, which they consider rather a burden than a blessing. It is certainly a mistake to believe that the reluctance of our native population to bring forth sons and daughters is due to the fear that they would have to compete in the market for labor with hordes of immigrants, whose customs are repulsive to them and who are lowering the standard of living. The standard of living of all classes of our population is higher and better to-day than forty years ago, when of the above-mentioned reluctance very little was known; and it is to-day especially noticed among the wealthier classes who never dream that they or their children will have ever to compete with foreigners in the market for labor. The opinion of Napoleon I., who, when asked by Madame de Staël which woman he considered the most meritorious, answered, "the one who has the most children," will find little favor among a large class of American ladies of our day, and some of them may pronounce it decidedly un-American. In glancing over this state of affairs, it is difficult to suppress the suspicion that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark." The roots of these evils are partially to be found in the events of our history, but they certainly have been magnified and multiplied during the last thirty years, and may, if not retarded by the greatest exertions of all well-meaning and patriotic citizens, assume proportions which may in the course of time threaten the stability and permanency of our republic.

To fight, to retard, and to extinguish this pernicious tendency should be the greatest duty and the highest ambition of all thinking men. Our statesmen and legislators, men of letters and journalists, ministers and professors in colleges—in short, all who by talents and position are able to influence public opinion and national character—should consider as addressed to them the warning: "*Videant consules ne detrimentum capiat res publica.*"

It may be said that the above picture is the product of a mind inclined to pessimism, and that the colors of it are taken mostly from life as it appears in the city of New York. If all

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this is admitted, it does not detract materially from the correctness and truth of the picture. The inhabitants of New York are no better and no worse than those of other places in the United States. I believe that there are numerous cities in our country which show the same symptoms of decay as those indicated in the above lines. From recent disclosures it appears that one city, which prides itself upon being the most ardent advocate and promoter of some of the views and measures that have contributed materially to the present deplorable state of affairs in our public and private life, excels New York in the hunt for accumulating wealth irrespective of the means employed.

Though these influences may be, here or there, retarded or accelerated by favorable or unfavorable circumstances, by the necessities of nature the same causes will, in a longer or a shorter period, produce the same results. Though we may think that the evils complained of are only symptoms of a disease that has taken possession of our political body, that the character of a nation is not changed by an intercourse of two or three generations, that at present the views and characteristics of former times fight against the extension and progress of the disease, it must be confessed that the impartial observer cannot contemplate without fear and solicitude the future destiny of our nation, and that if the tendencies of the present time should continue unchecked in the future, the fall of the great Western Republic must be admitted to be not only one of the possibilities but one of the probabilities of a future century. The historian of that time, in tracing the course of that most disastrous event to human civilization, will find no difficulty in detecting the sources from which it came; but one thing is certain—immigration will not be one of them.

Whatever we may think of the correctness of the foregoing assertions, at least it seems certain that immigration did not or does not lead to the deterioration of the American national character, and that if symptoms of such a deplorable change appear, they must be traced to other causes. Yet it cannot be denied that a certain class of immigrants, or certain classes of immigrants —for example, those that came during the past year in great numbers from Russia and from Italy—especially if they congre-

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gate in single localities, cause inconveniences and may entail great burdens on the communities in which they settle in large numbers. It may be considered the duty of our legislators to prepare and to enact measures by the execution of which these evils, although they may be only temporary, can be mitigated and avoided altogether.

We may omit the consideration of the proposition sometimes made, to extend the time of probation which must pass before immigrants can become citizens of the United States, as not pertaining to the subject under discussion; for such a measure would not diminish or restrict immigration, while it would curtail the power of assimilation. The number of citizens coming here without the intention of making America their home, but only for the purpose of earning more or less money and then returning to their native countries, would be immensely increased thereby; in fact, all emigrants soon would be drawn into that category. The difficulties justly or unjustly complained of as the results of large immigration would therefore not be diminished but increased by an extension of the time necessary for naturalization. Other measures that have been urged with more or less energy and discussed in the public press as well as in meetings and legislative bodies are as follows. It has been proposed:

First, To authorize and instruct our consuls in Europe to provide every emigrant with a certificate, in which it would appear that he is unobjectionable and a desirable addition to the population of the United States.

Second, To provide for an educational test; that is, to require that every emigrant over a certain age, who lands here, shall be able to read and to write.

As to the proposition to provide consular certificates, this would be impracticable. Our consuls in Europe, being unable personally to investigate the circumstances of every applicant, would have to rely, in the main, on the testimony of the civil and municipal officers in whose territory the intended emigrant lived. If he were an objectionable person, had come in conflict with the laws of his country, and had been punished heretofore, his home authorities, in order to get rid of him, would recommend him to the United States consul with the greatest pleasure as a worthy

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applicant for the dignity of United States citizenship; on the other hand, if he were really a valuable citizen, they would perhaps decline, in order to detain him, to furnish him with the certificate asked for. It is a known fact that in several parts of Europe organizations exist whose members and officers belong to the highest civil authorities (even some relatives of the reigning dynasties are honorary members of such organizations), whose special object it is to induce good-for-nothing fellows, who are burdens to their communities and even occupants of prisons, to emigrate to America, promising them pardon for their offences and the means to enable them to carry out their good resolutions. The United States consuls could be easily deceived by the home authorities, and, as they would be unable to carry on investigations themselves, the consular certificates would be entirely valueless.

But our consuls in the principal ports in which emigrants take their passage for the United States could do a great deal to ascertain their character and their past history, if they were instructed and enabled to engage persons whose duty it should be to find out from the emigrants, by intermingling with them before their departure, what their past history was and what the reasons were which induced them to leave their homes. Emigrants usually arrive in the port from which they start, a day or two before the steamers sail, and they are lodged in cheap hotels or boarding houses; most of them are usually very communicative and it would not be very difficult for a few detectives within an hour or two to learn the history and antecedents of nearly all the passengers. If undesirable or objectionable persons should be found among them, the consul could advise the immigration authorities in the United States in time to prevent their landing.

As to the second proposition—the adoption of an educational test—its efficiency is very doubtful. It might prevent from landing, some men whose education has been neglected but who possess, nevertheless, a great deal of common sense, industry, and energy, and who might become valuable citizens of the United States. No sensible man will deny or underestimate the value of knowledge and education, but they do not form the only criterion to judge the worth of a man. Culture of the heart is of

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as much importance in the formation of the character of a man as culture of the head. I do not believe in an aristocracy either of birth or of intelligence; virtue and patriotism are not privileges belonging exclusively or even pre-eminently to wealth or learning. Scoundrels possess usually a fair education, as far as it can be acquired in school or from books, and an educational test in its practical workings may not prove to be what is expected by its advocates.

In my opinion, the present laws, amended and improved as experience may make it appear advisable, if they are rigidly, conscientiously, and impartially enforced, are sufficient to prevent, if not all, at least most of the evils that are complained of. Immigrants either physically or mentally defective, such as cripples or idiots, are easily ascertained among arrivals and can be prevented from landing. It would be more difficult to detect criminally-disposed persons, but with some diligence and care this can be accomplished. The largest number of undesirable arrivals are the so-called "assisted emigrants" who, either by means furnished by the municipal authorities of their homes or by societies organized for that purpose, are sent to the United Sates. These could and should be prohibited from landing. If the steamship companies had to take them back they would be more careful, and would instruct their agents not to sell tickets to persons whose landing in the United States might be prohibited. A great deal then would remain to be done to imbue the immigrant with the American spirit, and it should be the ambition of all our citizens to contribute, to the extent of their ability, in one or another way to that end. It is a difficult work, but a great deal can be accomplished. Of course this cannot be done by resolutions, adopted by fashionable clubs, denouncing the immigrant in general and recommending the adoption of restrictive measures of doubtful expediency; it must be done by practical missionary work, by mingling personally with the immigrants and inducing them not to congregate in large cities but to disperse as much as possible in the country. They may not listen to such advice; if so, let them starve. Hunger is not only the best cook but often the best school-master too.

OSWALD OTTENDORFER.

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THE UNITED STATES AND SILVER.

It is not proposed to discuss in this article the merits either of the double or of the single standard of money. Much can be, and has been, said of both, but, if it be of any importance, it may be proper to say that the author thereof is, on the whole, of the opinion that it would be better for the people of the world if the double standard were now universally in use. The present financial condition of Europe is such that in all probability it will soon be determined whether the single gold standard, which is now practically the standard of the world including the United States, will be continued, or whether it will be succeeded by the double standard. Should the present crisis be passed successfully, there will be small prospect of any change by the nations of Europe for a long time. If, on the other hand, bi-metallism be adopted by them, then all occasion for discussion of this question as affecting this country will cease for the present. But, if bi-metallism be not adopted, what will our condition be? This question involves other questions:

First:—If the world should become convinced that soon all of the money in use in this country would be silver and paper convertible only into silver, would or would not the immediate effect of that world-belief be harmful to us?

Second:—The transition having taken place, the money of the country having become silver alone, would the country be better off, would it have greater prosperity as a whole than it would have should the present condition continue—that condition involving the free interchangeability of gold and silver and the constant creation by government of as much silver money as will be kept equal in value to gold money by the use which the people of the United States make of it in their business?

Third:—Can and will the people of this country so use silver as money in their domestic business that, without reference to what the rest of the world may do, the price of silver the world

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over will so rise that silver shall bear the same ratio in value to gold that, by the laws of the United States, the silver in a silver dollar bears to the gold in a gold dollar? And will the same cause maintain that price steadily and at all times?

These questions include all that it is needful for a citizen of this country to consider, and he must consider them much as they are stated above to qualify himself to pass upon the wisdom of past, present, or proposed silver legislation. Apparently only pure, hard, business propositions are involved, which it ought to be possible to take up without feeling or prejudice and with entire indifference to the answers which facts and logic may compel the investigator to give. A country the majority of whose citizens cannot take up and dispose of such questions in this spirit is indeed already in a bad way, and never far from financial breakers; therefore, any one who proposes to consider this subject at all, and who cares for the good name of his country, should in advance determine that he will keep his mind free from prejudice and unreasoning passion and allow the truth to lead him where it will. If our people will not do this they must expect to be served only by demagogic time servers—old Poloniuses, who are willing to see either camel, weasel, or whale in any cloud, provided they thereby can get a temporary advantage. Almost any one who will take the trouble to learn facts is competent to answer the above questions, and it is my part in this short article to give what help I may to those who are trying to do this.

If the world should come to believe that silver is to be our sole money this would be because it also believed that the answer to my third question is a negative; for if we could put and keep the silver of the world on a par with gold, gold would freely circulate in this country just as it does now, and it would always be unimportant to both citizens and strangers which of our various kinds of money they might have. But the world has already answered my third question in the negative, for all Europe has stopped the free coinage of silver, which it would not have done had it believed that it, in conjunction with us, could maintain the old ratio of the precious metals. The countries of the Latin Union have a vast amount of silver, and it is

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much more important to them to maintain the equality of silver with gold than it is to us even yet, and still they will not try to do so even with our help; how much less must they believe in our power to do this unaided! Therefore, upon thinking that they saw the approach of silver mono-metallism in this country, they would also think that our gold coins were better property than our silver coins, and would take steps at once to get our gold and to save themselves from the possibility of getting our silver. They would do this by selling all the securities created in this country for which they could find a market. They would seek that market here, and the result would be that, for a time at least, this country would have the use of much less foreign capital than it has now. I say "all of the securities created in this country," because I think that distrust would be cast not only upon our securities payable in lawful money but also upon those payable in gold, for the ability of many corporations to meet that obligation might well be doubted. Certainly the first result of this action on the part of foreigners would be to depress all values here, and to create more or less scarcity of money in this country. Every one can answer for himself whether this condition would be well for us or not.

But having passed the crisis, be it a destructive panic or a less suddenly harmful change of ownership, and that having happened which the world believed would happen, viz., a sudden lowering of the gold value of all of our money save gold, to the value of the silver which was in it, or in that which it represented, or in that in which it was to be redeemed, would that condition be any disadvantage to us? Every one will answer this question for himself. The man who owes a debt which is due or which is soon to become due, and who has property which he can sell for more of the lawful money of the United States than he could have obtained before the parting in value of our gold and silver coins, will doubtless say that to him it is an advantage. There are many persons in that condition, but not so many as one at first might think; and to every one of them there will be some loss which must be set off against what he will gain by paying his debt in this way. Every farmer will have something due to him either from his farm or from his

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neighbors, and the loss on that debt must be deducted from the gain upon the payment of any mortgage which he may happen to have upon his farm. To all those whose debts are not yet due, but who have interest to pay, the loss will be likely to exceed the gain.

On the other hand, he to whom a debt is due, or is soon to become due, will say that the change of standard has been a loss to him, and of such there are vast numbers. We have but to look at the army of depositors in our banks, savings banks, and trust companies to gain some idea of the numbers who will be injured by such a change of the standard of money; and yet they form but a fraction of the whole. Of course many of the creditors are also debtors, and hence there will be some gain to them to set off against loss.

Thus it would seem to be probable that the gains and losses arising from the payment of debts will fall not far short of balancing each other not only in amount but also in the number of individuals, although when the hosts who are creditors of the savings and other banks are considered the belief becomes strong that the number of losers would exceed that of the gainers.

But these are not considerations which should govern a country in selecting the money which it shall give to its people to use under the force of its laws. Government should know neither creditors nor debtors. All are entitled to its protection, the one no more than the other; and whenever governments have attempted to aid one class at the expense of the other, the end has invariably been universal loss and generally universal ruin. The only question for government is: What is the best form of money? What will be the best tool to aid the people in exchanging property among themselves and with the people of other countries? That is best which is most uniform in value; which bears the same relation to the property of the world at sunset as at sunrise; on Saturday night, when the week's wages are paid, as on Monday morning, when the week's work began; at the end of the year, when the year's contract for rent, salary, or what you will, ends, as when the contract was made; the same at the end as at the beginning of every obligation, whether it be for an hour or for hundreds of years, as is the term of some

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contracts made of late—in short, "so long as grass grows and water runs."

Bi-metallism is based upon the claim that it would meet this requirement more nearly than does mono-metallism. Such a unit of value would be perfection, but it has never been found, not even in the precious metals, whether they be used separately or in conjunction. The ideal can only be approximated, and that very roughly; and probably, for all time to come as in all time that is past, some will gain and some will lose because of a change in the relation of unit of value to property.

We may console ourselves, however, with the thought that the "unearned increments" and the undeserved decrements of mankind caused by this change are far less than those caused by numberless other changes; for example, the opening of a street by public authority, or the building of a canal and then a railway, diverting from the old turnpike the traffic which nightly had filled the taverns that lined its sides at the rate of one for each mile, leaving them valueless, cutting off the home market for a large part of the products of the adjacent farms, destroying their value and drying up many little villages. Similar results have followed the opening of the great West; gifts of land by government, creating sharp competition with the old farms of the East which had been bought and paid for by long years of toil; the use of coal, destroying the value of hard-wood land, and of natural gas, destroying the value of coal lands and of plants fitted for coal alone; and, I may add, governmental destruction and creation of values through protective tariffs, unjust and excessive taxation, and a thousand other measures interfering with liberty. These causes and others too numerous to name are daily taking from one man and giving to another; they have done so since man began, and will continue to do so while he is upon the earth. Would silver alone in this give such desirable fixity of relation? We need not go further than a year back to see that the price of silver can fluctuate so violently as to change the value of the silver in a dollar 20 per cent. in a few weeks. We see it change almost daily enough to disturb and make uncertain all business relations if silver were our standard of value. If our unit of value were based upon silver, fluctuating as con-

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stantly as it does, all business transactions would involve not only the ordinary considerations which now govern them, but also speculation in silver; and in a large portion of business the change in the price of silver would determine loss or profit. Comparatively few persons would be skilled in silver speculation, and their skill would give to that few the lion's share of business profits.

But perhaps this reasoning is all wrong. Perhaps if this country should throw its mints open and offer to coin all the silver which might be brought to them, and to make the silver thus coined a legal tender for all debts, then silver and gold would be linked together at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold the world over, and thus they would remain fixed and unmovable forever in their relation to each other, the value of the mass of both metals only changing its relation to all other property with a slow vibration, so slow as to be felt only in the lapse of ages. Known facts do not justify this hope. As before said, the powerful nations composing the Latin Union have despaired of maintaining this or any other ratio. The unlimited use which Mexico, South America, India, and China make of silver in their legal-tender money fails to maintain this fixity of ratio. The expenditure by the United States in the purchase of silver of $24,000,000 a year for twelve years and of nearly $50,000,000 since last August, has failed to do it. But, says the advocate of free coinage, only give free coinage; that will take $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 worth of silver bullion off the market, and then the business of the United States will at once make steady the price of the $3,880,000,000 worth of silver now supposed to be in the possession of mankind in the form of money, together with the uncounted millions in plate and ornaments, to all of which is to be added a product of $150,000,000 each year and such increase of this yearly product as advanced price might cause. The advocates of free coinage say that the United States can do all this if their advice is followed; but this paper is addressed to the thinking, unprejudiced investigator. What does he say? We are told that all the silver money in the United States is interchangeable with gold at full value, and that the business of the United States has been able to ac-

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complish this by the use which it has made of silver thus far. Granted; but that use has not raised the value of silver bullion.

Let us see what this country has done. It has bought and coined about $420,000,000—coinage value—of silver, which is less than the world's product during the three years last past; though the actual product of the last year was $34,000,000 more than that of the first year of the three. During the last nine years it has reduced the bank-note circulation nearly $200,000,000, thus creating a vacuum in our domestic circulation to that extent, to be filled by something. It has been asked by the country for less than 60,000,000 of the actual dollars which it has coined, but it has represented the coined dollars by paper certificates, and has put them into circulation to almost the full amount of the coin which they represent. Ninety per cent., however, of the silver certificates are in the form of notes of ten dollars and less; thus they effect the smaller exchanges of property and service. At first, in the silver law of 1878, the denominations were fixed at not less than ten dollars, but as the total number of silver dollars increased it was found that the absorption of them in business did not increase; hence in 1886 the law was amended so as to authorize the issue of certificates in the denominations of five dollars, two dollars, and one dollar, and the conversion of the larger into the smaller denominations, with the result that the certificates in the denominations of five dollars and less now exceed in amount the total coinage since the amendment of 1886, and that the denominations of twenty dollars and over have diminished from $65,000,000 to $34,000,000. In 1886 the treasury of the government had become glutted with the ownership of silver dollars (94,000,000 of them had accumulated) which the people would not use either in the coin or in the certificate form then provided; since that time the country has gradually absorbed the treasury silver in the form and manner above stated. Thus our silver is in circulation in the form (small denominations) in which history shows that an overvalued money can be issued in the largest amounts, but which history also shows is the most dangerous form when distrust gets abroad in the public mind.

The coin certificates issued under the law of last July show

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that even they cannot hold their own in our circulation against gold, although they may be redeemed in gold as well as in silver, and although it is the declared intention of our government to maintain their parity with gold. Owing to lack of facilities for printing, the government was at first obliged to issue these certificates in denominations of $100. They began to be paid to the government for customs at once, and in three months' time they formed 19 per cent. of the receipts at the Custom House in New York, almost exactly displacing that amount of the receipts in gold certificates. Why was this? They were clean, attractive-looking bills, a legal tender, with the declared intention of the government behind them to maintain them at the value in gold which they bore when issued. Why were they turned back to the government, in amounts so out of proportion to their total? Because they were of a denomination which brought them directly in competition with the money of the world—gold—and because they were not gold. Later, when they were issued in the smaller denominations and no longer came in competition with gold certificates, they seem to have found a resting place in men's pocket-books, for the percentage of receipts in them had fallen by February 10, 1891, to 2.4 per cent. Since that time the proportion has again risen until it amounts to 30 per cent. but in their last increase they have only a little exceeded the increased receipts in silver certificates and greenbacks, all at the expense of gold certificates. The exact figures are:

	Gold Certificates.	Silver Certificates.	Greenbacks	New Coin Certificates.
February 10,.....	91.2%	2.4%	3.9%	2.2%
May 30,.....	27.8%	26.8%	15.0%	30.2%

What these late changes denote it is too soon to say; it is to be hoped that they will not continue long, for if they do the government may be compelled to take extraordinary steps to make good its promise of last July. The first incident of the coin certificates shows clearly to one who will consider the facts that there is even now a decided difference in the public view between the coin and the gold certificates when they are put side by side—the gold certificate is kept; the coin certificate is spent. Why not reverse the present law and practice governing the issue

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of certificates, and prohibit all silver and coin certificates of a denomination less than twenty dollars, and all gold certificates of a denomination greater than ten dollars? This would give the masses a money good beyond all peradventure, and if silver can be maintained at par with gold by the laws of this country alone, it surely can be when represented by certificates of that denomination. If silver will not bear that test danger is near.

But, says some one, will not the legal tender quality maintain at par an unlimited amount of silver? No! it will not. Legal tender has failed too often to maintain the value of money to entitle it to confidence at this late day; but that subject would lead too far for the limits of this article. Will not the declaration of the intention on the part of the government to maintain the parity of the coins maintain that parity? No! it will not. The United States could, of course, sell its bonds or tax the people and use the proceeds indefinitely to redeem and store silver certificates, and thus could keep a certain amount of silver money in circulation at par; but it could not put all of that redeemed money into circulation at par unless the people had use for it at par, and the fact that the government was forced to tax its resources and credit to redeem any portion of our money would be a demonstration that the people had not use for the whole of it.

In closing I ask the candid investigator of this subject to answer for himself the questions with which this paper began and also this further question: Why should this country allow itself to run any chances of having a depreciated money? Who will be benefited thereby? If we provide that when there is a necessity to maintain parity the government shall redeem, why not provide for a cessation of the cause which has produced the necessity? Why not cease the creation of the money when it does not maintain itself? We have no such provision, and because we have not there is to-day a sharp discrimination between our gold money with its representative the gold certificate, and our silver money with its representatives; and this in spite of the solemn declaration of the government of the United States in the law of July 14, 1890.

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD.

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WHY WE NEED CUBA.

OUR statesmen, as early as the first quarter of this century, were keenly alive to the great concern our people naturally have in the island of Cuba. Early in 1823, Thomas Jefferson, who had already added 1,182,752 square miles to the territory of the Union, including Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi, and who had sent explorers across the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Oregon, wrote from Monticello to President Monroe these far-sighted words:

"The addition of the island of Cuba to our Confederacy is exactly what is wanted to round our power as a nation to the point of its utmost interest."*

Later in the same year he wrote again:

"I candidly confess that I have looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition that could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico and the countries and isthmus bordering it, would fill the measure of our well-being."†

Almost simultaneously with Mr. Jefferson's first letter, John Quincy Adams, writing as secretary of state to John Forsyth, our minister at Madrid, referred to Cuba as "almost within sight of our shores," and added:

"For a multitude of considerations it has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies; its situation midway between our southern coast and the island of Santo Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantages; the nature of its productions, and its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the return of a commerce unusually profitable and naturally beneficial; give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared. Such indeed are, between

* "Jefferson's Complete Works," Vol. VIII., p. 300.
† Ibid., pp. 316–17.

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the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, and moral and political relations formed by Nature, gathering in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."

This was written sixty-eight years ago, and the immediate occasion for it was the imminence of war between Spain and France.

Passing over the sentiments of similar import that Mr. Calhoun expressed in the early days of his public life, we may recall that so cautious and deliberate a statesman as President Van Buren instructed the American minister to Spain in 1840 to inform the Spanish government that, in the event of any attempt to wrest Cuba from her, she might securely depend on the United States to aid in preserving or recovering it. This remarkable assurance was virtually repeated later by Mr. Webster in a dispatch as secretary of state on January 14, 1843. Moreover, during the administration of Mr. Fillmore, Edward Everett, then secretary of state, addressing the British minister at Washington in reply to a proposition on the part of England that the United States should unite in a tripartite perpetual guarantee of Cuba to Spain, thus summed up the inherent vital relations of that island to our own country:

"It bars the entrance to that great river which drains half of the North American continent. . . . It keeps watch at the doorway of our intercourse with California. . . . Territorially and commercially, it would, in our hands, be extremely valuable; under certain contingencies it might be almost essential to our safety."

In other words, Cuba so nearly touches our shores and is so manifestly of our own geographical system, that no American statesman may leave its immediate future out of his earnest, if not anxious, consideration. Any maritime power that should occupy it could readily make a *mare clausum* of the Gulf of Mexico; for Cape San Antonio, its western extremity, is separated from Cape Catoche, on the coast of Yucatan, by little more than one hundred miles of seaway, while Cape Hicacos is only a hundred miles distant from Florida, the larger part of the distance being filled by the Bahama banks and islets. Thus, mani-

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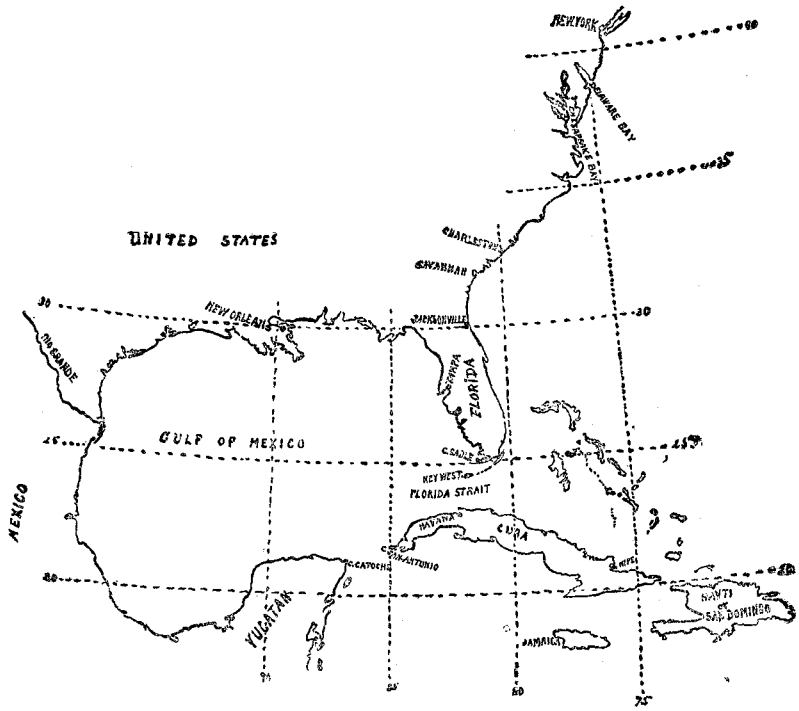
festly, this great island dominates not only the Gulf of Mexico, but all the approaches thereto. Moreover, it lies broadside to the track of our commerce by water with Mexico, and what is of still greater importance, to the trade of the chief part of our cotton-producing States, not only with Europe, but with the North Atlantic seaboard. Its capital city is only seven hours distant by steam from Key West, less than sixty hours from the mouth of the Mississippi River, and but sixty-six hours by rail and water *via* Tampa, Florida, from the city of Washington.



Such are the geographical and military relations between Cuba and the United States. Her commercial history, also, teaches that her political incorporation with this republic would be in obedience to the laws of national gravitation; for our people consume much the largest part of all that the island produces for exportation. Notwithstanding incredible commercial shackles, a perversely false political economy, and oppressive

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taxation, together with the absence of all semblance of free institutions under Spanish rule, such have been and are the natural agricultural advantages of the island that as early as 1831–40 it had become an exporter of products to the United States to the yearly value of $15,000,000. This average, during the next decade, was increased to $24,500,000. For the seven years ending with June 30, 1875, the value of the sugar alone exported from Cuba to this country aggregated $470,730,578, or a yearly average of $67,247,225; while during the last period, the aggregate value of Cuban products exported to England was but $154,700,000. Since that date, this single one of the Antilles has continued to export to the United States a larger amount of merchandise than any other country has done, except Great Britain and France. The value of these exports between 1875 and 1889, inclusive, was $872,969,000, and the total between 1859 and 1889, inclusive, was about $1,660,000,000. On the other hand, our exports of merchandise to Cuba, meanwhile, have aggregated only about $450,000,000, and the balance of trade against us has, therefore, been as large as $1,210,000,000. But this balance was not settled directly with the Cuban people, for while exporting to Cuba barely $85,234,455 in specie, we imported therefrom during the same period $49,645,559 in specie, thus leaving only $35,588,896 to go toward the settlement of the adverse balance already stated. It follows, therefore, that fully as much as $1,160,000,000 must have been paid through Europe, or mainly through England, as we know to be the case, and that it must have been paid in gold—in an amount of that metal less by only $68,000,000 than all that was obtained from the placer and quartz gold mines of the United States during the same period.

As is generally known, much the larger part of our import trade with Cuba has been and is in her saccharine products; but it may not be generally known that while our total importation of those products from all quarters, including that island, during the fifteen years ending with 1884, aggregated $1,347,500,000, the Cuban quota amounted to $835,000,000, or 62 per cent. of the whole. As early as 1865 Cuba furnished 85⅝ per cent. of the sugar imported by the United States. In 1885 Cuba's quota

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had been reduced to 65 5/16 per cent. It increased to 71 1/16 per cent. in 1888, but was reduced in 1890 to 43⅝ per cent., the value of the whole sugar importation aggregating $89,737,284. Between 1869 and 1882 our sugar importations from the island aggregated $800,000,000, showing a yearly average of $57,142,857. And we may add, as indicating to what extent the United States have been absorbing this one Cuban product, that between 1868 and 1872, of the total exportation of Cuban sugar from the island in boxes, 40 per cent. came to the United States, together with 89⅞ per cent. of that which was supplied in hogsheads.

Our Cuban commerce has exercised a manifest influence in the maintenance of our shipping interests. In 1875, when the total imports from Cuba aggregated $66,445,536, no less than $52,637,276 of that amount, or 79¼ per cent., reached our shores on American ships; and for the same year, 90⅞ per cent. of our export trade with that island was likewise under our flag. Moreover, of the American ships engaged in foreign commerce that were entered in the ports of the United States for the quarter ending June 30, no less than 26 per cent. were employed in the Cuban trade, carrying 25 per cent. of the whole tonnage thus freighted. It is also to be noted that comparatively little of the sugar imported from other places than Cuba has reached our ports under the American flag, while in 1886, 67⅝ per cent. of Cuban exports to this country were in American vessels.

Of the physical features of the island, it should be said that, following its axis, so to speak, it is fully 700 miles in length, but nowhere wider than 130 miles, so that no part of it is more than 65 miles from the seaboard, and that it has an area of 36,013 square miles. A broken chain of mountains, with several lofty peaks, one of which, Pico de Tarquino, has an altitude of 7,670 feet, extends in a general east-and-west direction, dividing the water courses that flow northward into the Bahama Channel from those that fall into the Caribbean Sea. It has more than 1,700 miles of coast, exclusive of the numerous bays and harbors with which that coast is indented, especially in the north. These bays and harbors are of superlative commercial value, being deep, easy of access, sheltered, and susceptible of

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thorough defense at comparatively small cost. Though almost touched by the Tropic of Cancer, and lying southward of it, Cuba is comparatively free from those tempests which so often have scourged the lesser Antilles, while earthquakes have been rare and harmless. Of course the climate is tropical, but the heat is sensibly tempered by the sea breezes, and the uplands have a bland, delightful atmosphere. The months of August and September are most disagreeable and unhealthy on the coast. Through December, January, and February the climate is charming. At Havana, in winter, the thermometer stands between 50° and 60° Fahrenheit; the mean heat of noon is about 70°, and that of the hottest months is 84°. Sometimes, on the uplands of the interior, the temperature falls below the freezing point, and thin ice forms on the highest ground; as, for example, it did in January, 1801, and several times within the last ten years.

With such a climate, Cuba is singularly favorable to animal as well as vegetable life. The soil is well watered, as a rule, of exceeding fertility, and rich in products that are at once the necessities and the luxuries of civilized man. Indian corn, which was indigenous in the island, yields two crops a year there, and rice grows upon the uplands as wheat does in the United States. The sugar-cane fields begin to be ready for harvesting in October, but are richest in saccharine matter in January, February, and March. For this reason a sugar plantation in Cuba requires a materially smaller number of laborers than anywhere in the United States. Few venomous reptiles exist in the island, and there are no poisonous serpents at all; while the bite of the tarantula is dangerous only if neglected.

Cuba, with a smaller area than the State of New York, has a much larger acreage of richly productive land, as is attested by the extraordinary value of the exported agricultural products of a small fraction of the island—the only part provided with labor for sugar culture. Hardly 15 per cent., or 5,400,000 acres of the land, has been adapted as yet to agricultural uses, yet no country of the like area has contributed so largely in the last 25 years to the commerce of the world in agricultural staples, in spite of all the disadvantages of the Spanish colonial system.

While, as we have seen, sugar culture has been the great

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feature of Cuban agriculture, and while its commercial results have been remarkable, considering the small acreage available for sugar plantations and the meagre labor employed, it must be remembered that the island produced as much as 64,153,000 pounds of coffee in 1833. A very large part of Cuba, or nearly all the uplands, is specially favorable for the growth of a grade of the coffee berry that is equal to the best Mocha. Moreover, the same kind of land is equally well suited for cacao, the cultivation of which is probably the most profitable of all agricultural industries. Both these products can be raised by white labor on small plantations, and call for the employment of small capital compared to that required in the production of brown sugar and molasses. But here has been interposed the same Spanish colonial policy that interdicted the olive and vine in Mexico and wheat in Buenos Ayres. In 1832 the Spanish government imposed a differential duty of $12 per barrel on foreign—that is, on American—flour imported into Cuba, whether under the Spanish flag or not. This led to immediate retaliatory legislation on the part of the United States, which country was then the chief customer for Cuban coffee, as it is now for Cuban sugar. The speedy result was that coffee was virtually excluded, in competition with the Brazilian staple, from this market, and its culture had to be abandoned.

So rich and diversified have been the agricultural resources of Cuba during the last fifty years, that attention has been diverted from the great undeveloped mineral wealth of the island, which includes gold, copper, lead, iron, asphalt, and petroleum. The Spaniards found the natives possessed of trinkets of gold to a notable extent, and in the outset of Spanish occupation, placer or fluvial gold-mining was carried on extensively in the eastern and middle sections of the island with material results. Humboldt placed Cuba within the auriferous belt of this hemisphere. From my own personal experience in the course of a year's residence, with daily surveys on horseback, after four years' previous acquaintance with the mineral regions of California, I am satisfied that there is a future gold field in the island awaiting profitable exploitation. As for copper, $19,000,000 worth of that metal was exported from the quarter of Santiago de Cuba

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to England in the six years preceding 1850. In this connection, also, within my personal knowledge, there are surface indications of copper to an exceptional extent in the central part of Cuba. Iron of the very best description, suitable for the manufacture of Bessemer pig and most desirable for mixture with our own ores, has been found in large deposits in the district of Santiago de Cuba. These deposits, moreover, are so close to the seaboard and are so easy of approach as to promise exceptional resources for our iron and steel industry, which during the past year has become the largest in the world. The surface indications of petroleum and asphalt also give notable assurance of important industrial results. Moreover the middle and eastern sections of this island are very rich in timber for construction, including great forests of mahogany and valuable rare woods for the interior decoration of houses, for cabinet furniture, and for ship-building.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the United States have great and varied interests in all that concerns the future development of Cuba's natural resources. These interests make it an essential complement to our industrial, agricultural, commercial, and military systems, and, logically, should lead our people to desire its early acquisition. In absolute fact these interests are too great and various to endure for a much longer period the continuation of commercial relations with the island which are far from neighborly when they are not directly inimical. All considerations urge us to this acquisition, without regard to European opinion or antagonism. But in all we do toward that end, we should be not only just and generous to Spain, but in the highest degree mindful and considerate of her natural and national sensibilities. On the other hand, no sinister diplomacy on the part of other governments should be tolerated. A transfer of the sovereignty of the island, however, is to be reached only through the higher ranges of statesmanship.

In this immediate relation it may not be either impertinent or amiss for the present writer specially to remind the intelligent commercial and business classes, as well as the public men, of the eastern Atlantic States that their predecessors opposed in succession the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, the annexation

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of Texas, and the acquisition of California, and were not unwilling to yield a material part of Oregon to the English. And yet every acquisition of territory by the United States, from that of Louisiana in 1803 to that of Alaska in 1867, has been fraught almost immediately with special commercial and industrial benefits to the people of that section; benefits all of which, however, it is to be added, have been shared unstintedly with the whole commercial world, to such extent that other nations should regard with high favor the transfer of Cuba to our hands. Our whole history affords a guarantee that as a part of the United States the island of Cuba would rapidly become of far greater value to the commercial world than it can ever be as a colonial dependency of Spain.

THOMAS JORDAN.

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HOME LIFE IN FRANCE.

In the good old times when international ill will was even stronger than it is to-day, English travellers and linguists made their countrymen believe that the French had no notion of a home, because the English word cannot be rendered by any single French equivalent, but requires an article, a preposition, and a pronoun, "*le chez soi*." If one were inclined to go into verbal subtleties, it might be argued that "*chez*" means a house (it is nearly related to *casa*), and that "home," of which "hamlet" is a diminutive, means a village. The truth is that words prove nothing, as all depends upon association. The sentimental significance of "*οἶκος*," or "*domus*," or "*casa*," or "*chez nous*" depends upon habits formed in the mind by the slow influence of the dwelling place. For me, I have only literary associations with the Greek, Latin, or Italian words, but the French "*chez nous*" and "*chez moi*" have living associations for me, like the English "home," and I find, having equal experience of both, that there is no perceptible difference. "*On n'est nulle part aussi bien que chez soi*" seems to me a full equivalent for the English "there is no place like home." Indeed, I may go a little further and say that the expressions "*chez moi*," "*chez soi*," "*chez nous*," have an element of cosy selfishness that seems to exclude the outer world even more decidedly than the English "home." A young French married couple employ the "*chez nous*" with a peculiar significance, the "*nous*" being their own two dear selves and nobody else. In both countries these expressions have an extended sense with reference to the nation; as we say in England "the Home Government," "the Home Secretary," and as Londoners say "the Home Counties" for the counties nearest the metropolis, in France "*chez nous*" is constantly used for the nation, and in a more restricted sense for the district or neighbourhood where the speaker lives.

Much of the home feeling depends upon the dwelling place

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itself, and upon the situation of it. I will briefly consider this influence of the dwelling place before studying the life of the inhabitants. Imagine a large, rough old house belonging to a French country squire. I do not mean to imply that all country squires have large, rough old houses, but some have still, especially in the remote rural districts. Do not think of it merely as a farm house—it is better than that; but in the case I am thinking of, which is not an uncommon one, the house is rough and without art; still, you see that it is a gentleman's dwelling. The floors, perhaps, are of red brick, except that of the drawing room, which is probably of oak. Those of the bedrooms may be of plain deal. There are few carpets, and those are small ones, showing the nature of the floor all round them. The ceilings are likely to be disfigured by huge beams. In some of the principal rooms there may be wainscot painted grey; in others, cheap wall papers, very seldom renewed. The windows are tall, the small panes separated by thick wood, the shutters cumbersome and inelegant. The furniture is most of it of the eighteenth century, with some more modern things interspersed. The entire habitation is full of light, space, and air; but it is very likely to be ill-arranged, and perhaps you may have to go through one room to get into another. The farm buildings are close by; perhaps the back windows of the *château* look out on the farm yard. The stables are spacious, like the stables of a large farm; so are the barns and other outhouses. The gardens are vast and productive, but not ornamental. The lawn before the house is, in reality, a meadow.

Now, what is likely to be the influence of a habitation of this kind? The squire feels no restriction as to space, and he is not afraid of spoiling anything; he can spread himself and his belongings. His dress, like his house, is simple, strong, and unpretending. He will come, perhaps, with his nailed boots and his gaiters, into the dining room, and smoke his wooden pipe everywhere except in the saloon. As for margin, there is no end of margin—everything has margin; there is room to go round everything, room to put everything, room for exercise and sport. Besides half a dozen farms, there may be a thousand acres of woodland to wander over with a gun. It is a healthy existence

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with its space and its liberty; and there may be culture too. Montaigne lived this country life, which did not prevent him from having a book room in one of his towers; and in our times there is the daily postman with his news of the outer world.

Now, for a contrast, think of life in a little Parisian apartment. Suppose it is in one of the very pretty and elegant new houses. The courtyard is as clean and tidy as possible; for no tenant is allowed to leave anything there, not even a deal board. The entrance is quite sumptuous with its panels of cut stone, its pilasters, its sumptuous oak doors with heavy panels and carvings and great nickel-plated handles set in marble. The staircase—I am supposing a good new house—is of oak, and is hung with some stuff to imitate tapestry. All this seems spacious enough, but it is only a passage. The apartment is a marvel for economy of space and for high finish in everything: the floors are of waxed oak, the latest inventions are applied to windows and fireplaces, the furniture is elegant, to suit the rooms, and the people are dressed like the prints of the fashions. Is it not easy to see that the two residences I have sketched must affect habits and character quite differently? The French are an impressionable people, and they receive, in course of time, an influence from their habitations which becomes permanent. It counts for a great deal in the peculiarity of the Parisian type. Not that in the provinces all people are even relatively so spaciously lodged as my squire. On the contrary, in the country towns the lodgings are often very narrow, and ill ventilated, and unwholesome; still, on the whole, provincial life has space and a certain roughness, whilst Parisian life is cramped by want of room and has gone into the direction of elegance as a sort of compensation. Both are perfectly French, for it is in the French nature to be very rustic or very urban. You have the two extremes quite faithfully reflected in French painting.

The present tendency is to carry Parisian finish into the remotest provinces. This is chiefly the work of the architects, who are now very numerous in France and also very accomplished. They build on a smaller scale than their predecessors, but with more intelligent arrangements for convenience and more perfect finish. There is very little elegance in the old rural houses and

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not much luxury of any kind—except in the great *châteaux*—but houses built within the last fifteen or twenty years show a marked improvement. The internal arrangements are now as convenient as they formerly were awkward and uncouth. I went through one of these modern country houses lately and found every imaginable convenience, a dressing room for every bedroom and a certain English closet (in a round tower) on each floor. Polished floors of marble or oak gave no encouragement to hob-nailed shooting boots, and the dining room was so genteel that it seemed a necessity to dress for dinner. Can we suppose that children bred in this elegance could be the same as those brought up in the rough, spacious *châteaux* of former times? Here, instead of guns and boars' heads, the walls are adorned with cabinet pictures. And the modern elegance goes into every detail. The carriages are delicate and light, and if the owner has a sailing boat on the river it is brilliantly varnished. Parisian perfection requires a corresponding perfection in all things, and I am of Emerson's opinion that in the country a certain roughness has its advantages. Rural life is better without the superfine.

The effect of wealth on the home life of all countries is, of course, enormous; but in France it is, perhaps, even more marked than elsewhere. Here are two main points: the poor, or even the middling Frenchman, is very narrowly lodged and very stationary, seldom leaving his own little town or village; the very wealthy Frenchman has plenty of room everywhere, and he is migratory. Here is an example known to me: Baron D. has a large town house in Paris—an old family mansion, worth in itself three millions of francs—and besides that he has half a dozen or more *châteaux* on his country estates. He goes from one to the other when it is not the Parisian season; he pays visits in *châteaux* belonging to his friends; and he stays with his family the obligatory weeks at the seaside; all this without leaving France. He goes abroad also, but less than an English nobleman. In the existence of this family the principal luxury is change of place; for although they have a full staff of servants, they live quietly and reasonably. Amongst so many houses have they a home? They may have preferences for one

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residence amongst many, and even for part of a residence. In these cases the preference is usually for rather humble and plainly furnished rooms, never for state rooms.

The smaller French aristocracy, the inferior gentry, still keep up the old custom of wintering in some provincial capital, in the chief town of a department or even in the most important little town in a district; but those of the great nobility who are still wealthy have almost entirely abandoned this custom. They all winter in Paris, unless they go to the south for greater warmth. There is, for example, the distinguished old family of de Voguë. The chief of that house has a noble old *château* at Commarin, where the great round feudal towers are connected together by many habitable rooms, the whole still surrounded by a large moat and in a richly-wooded park. He comes and stays at this *château* still for some weeks every year, and he also possesses a very fine old mansion at Dijon. I myself drove from one to the other in 1889, through some of the finest scenery in France; and I thought how happily situated the family was to have its country house within a day's drive of its town house, and both so interesting. The town house is a delightful old residence containing rich examples of domestic architecture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. There is a noble tapestried guard room that might serve as a banqueting hall. The courtyard is adorned with a magnificent marble arcade rich in sculpture, and in the interior are several fine rooms, including a library with hundreds of noble folios still in well-preserved old bindings. One of these rooms, the saloon, seemed strangely bare, and my guide said: "The wainscot here was extremely beautiful, so M. de Voguë had it removed to Paris, where he has built a new mansion. The family never come here now; this house is abandoned." Dijon no longer offers a sufficient variety of interest for a *grand seigneur* of the present day. There is no king to call him to Paris, but there is still society.

I have mentioned aristocratic living, *la vie de château*, because it still exists amongst the wealthier families of the *noblesse* and is imitated with more of modern luxury by the rich financiers and leaders of industry. M. Eiffel paid two millions of francs lately for a town residence, and when life is established on that scale

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everything is usually in proportion. I was in Paris last year when M. Eiffel made his purchase, and was told that a price of that kind was not extraordinary for a private mansion of some importance. Still, if we look upon France as a whole, it is not the life of the rich that represents the nation now so much as that of the middle class, and that of the very numerous rural gentry of limited means. Middle-class life is worth study, because all the inferior classes make it their object and ideal, and their prudent and successful members are continually rising to swell its numbers. The poorer gentry are also continually dropping down into the middle class, so that it becomes more and more numerous. And in the course of one or two generations it is very easy to foresee that the farmers will be middle-class men instead of French peasants, as they used to be, so that the force and importance of the *bourgeoisie* will be enormous. In fact, it is this class which has succeeded in founding the Republic.

An Englishman who begins to know France is struck at first by the small number of servants in the middle classes. The incomes are usually limited, and the French *bourgeois* has long since come to the conclusion that a small house, few servants, and few children are the practical solution of the question how to save money out of a small income. I have often been struck with the patience of the French middle class in putting up with incredibly inconvenient residences—an undesirable inheritance from preceding ages. The private dwellings of shopkeepers are often ill arranged, badly lighted, and insufficiently ventilated. Some are so dark, so confined and malodorous, that one hardly knows how children can be brought up in them. No doubt in many cases the mortality is diminished by personal cleanliness; still it is frightfully high in some of the picturesque old towns, exceeding fifty in the thousand in such places as Morlaix and Douarnenez. This fact is almost entirely due to the bad construction of old houses, to insufficiency of space and air, and to defective drainage. Many French physicians and journalists are now fully alive to these evils and are using their influence to diminish them. Even Marseilles is going to have an efficient system of drainage; but that, although decided upon, is still in the future. Awkwardness in the internal arrangements of houses

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and the absence of provision for natural necessities were so common in old France that any good modern house is more habitable than the Versailles of Louis XIV. And the number of good modern separate houses is increasing with great rapidity, especially in the outskirts of the towns. There has also been much improvement during the last thirty years in the condition of the country houses belonging to the smaller gentry. They are kept with a stricter neatness and are more habitable.

The reader who knows France only by hotels and restaurants can hardly judge of the way of life in private houses. It varies much with individual tastes, but, speaking generally, it may be said that in private houses the living is at once simpler and better than in the hotels. There are fewer dishes and they are cooked more carefully. The middle classes live better than the poorer gentry for the following reason: a wealthy nobleman can afford to keep a *chef*—an experienced male cook with subordinates—but a poor squire has to trust to female cooks, and any woman will call herself a *cuisinière*. In the middle classes the wife always understands cookery, and in the poorer middle class she does all of it that is delicate and difficult with her own hands, bringing to the task an amount of culture, care, and cleanliness—besides economy—that no ordinary servant will ever give. The consequence is that the middle-class man has generally a better and more regular table than those immediately above him in the social scale. I have said that, as a rule, living in the middle classes is simpler than in the hotels, as well as better; but if the master is a *gourmet* and has not much else to interest him, the living may be elaborate enough.

Children being nearly always at table in France, and conversation often being animated amongst their elders, they hear a great deal that was never intended for them, and they get a sort of education in talkativeness by mere example. They may make little use of this in the presence of strangers during boyhood or girlhood, but it bursts out when they get to a talking age.

It is recognized by custom that when a family is in private every one has a right to talk or not as he pleases, and silence being permitted, the taciturn will take advantage of it; still, nothing is more national in French life than talkativeness at

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meal times, even when the family alone is present. This does at least keep up the national power of talking, though the mill wheels of conversation have frequently very little grain to grind. Talk of this kind has some use as a stimulating exercise of the lighter faculties, which in other countries are often left unexercised. The merits of it are its facility of expression and its ample choice of language; the defects of it, in France, may be included under the one head of insufficient or inaccurate information. Still, in the middle class you will find the most accurate knowledge of special subjects. All the university professors, most of the men of letters, the artists, the scientific men, belong to the middle class so far as they can be said to belong to any definite class at all, and though in home life they are surrounded by women and children who know little, they will often throw a strong light upon a subject for a moment.

French politeness to women and French kindness to children have placed men at a disadvantage in home life since the old paternal authority has died away. There is a clatter of small talk, and unless the father can take a share in it, he may sometimes feel solitary at his own table. After a day of business, he may come home tired and may not feel equal to the innocent but rather light babble of a French family, and then the talk will go on without him. Or he may make an effort to be amusing and not be quite successful, from the lack of youthful elasticity; or he may want to talk about something that interests him, but that is beyond the family audience. In former times the father had the paternal dignity and could take a becoming refuge in that; in the present day he is but one of the members of a little democratic home parliament that receives or rejects his opinions without deference. Again, in French families, particularly of the middle classes, the preponderance of the mother is very strongly marked. It is easily explicable by very evident causes. She rules the house in detail, she gives orders to children and servants, so that the father appears infrequently as an acting authority. She wins power by her activity and attention to detail, and by her presence. The father is away during the daytime and is considered to have but two duties in life, regularity in monthly payments for household expenses and regularity at meal times.

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The monthly payments are not seen by the children, still less the labour and intelligence that go to the earning of them, but they feel the maternal power. The servants are usually women, and a man cannot command women; he may ask for services, gently —he does not give orders as he would to a man servant.

Rather overpowered at home by the feminine and infantine, or puerile, majority, the Frenchman often, though not always, seeks refuge in the *café*. There he meets with men of his own age, often of another class, but he does not look very closely into that, and he spends his evening sipping beer and smoking. Such excitement as there is in the delights of a *café* in a small country town is surely of a very mild kind, yet it may be better mental entertainment than any enjoyed by the wife who sits alone and tries to read or knit when the children have gone to bed. There are husbands, perfectly irreproachable as to all serious duties and obligations, who leave their wives every evening just after dinner, to stay at the *café* till eleven. They see nothing wrong in it; they do not go for the drink and are never tipsy; they go for a little intercourse with mature minds of the male sex. They are merely keeping up a bachelor habit; still, it is a kind of semi-separation. Taking French life as it is, with the predominance in home life of the feminine and the immature, and the rarity—in comparison with England—of hospitality in the house, the *café* seems to be a necessary institution. The explanation of it is not the need of drink, which might be had at home, but the want of masculine society.

The smallness of French dwellings is probably answerable for the tendency to put infants out to nurse and to send boys to boarding school. In a small apartment boys are noisy, troublesome, and in the way; and owing to French indulgence of children, they are likely to become unruly. Now, in France the facilities for getting rid of boys are very great and very tempting. The state has *lycées* and colleges all over France, where board and education are given below cost price, and if a father is a Republican, or simply a Liberal, he will send his son to one of these. I have seen an absurd statement in an English periodical that only very poor people send their boys to the *lycées*. M. Eiffel, who bought a town residence for two millions of francs,

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sends his son to the *Lycée Janson*, and there are many other similar cases. If a father is clerical in his tendencies, he has the ecclesiastical schools. The Church is even more hospitable than the state; she gives food, lodging, and education for less than the cost of the food alone. Again, the Church relieves parents even more effectually than the state, as she keeps the boys longer and more vigorously away from home. She has her own reasons for this: she desires to substitute her own authority for parental authority and her own influence for the contagion of "the world"—that is, of the few occasional lay visitors who may spend an hour or two in the father's house. With all these facilities, there is every temptation to insure quietness in the narrow home by the simple process of banishing the boys. The class in which home education is most frequent is the wealthier part of the nobility. Being anxious to avoid the association of their boys with the sons of their social inferiors, they often have them educated at home by private tutors, always either priests or strictly Catholic laymen. This, no doubt, is the best way of preserving some degree of parental influence, and it is healthy, physically, for the boys, who escape from the confinement of the schools and live, instead, in various country houses. Unfortunately, this home education in a narrow and exclusive class, full of reactionary prejudices, has an evil effect in fostering social and political illusions and in preparing men who might have been suitable for the eighteenth century, but who will be out of place in the twentieth.

A home education in the wealthy French nobility is, however, much better in one respect than such an education could ever be in the middle class, for this reason: the nobility see a good deal of society, though it is almost exclusively amongst themselves and quite exclusively amongst people of their own way of thinking. Home-bred boys in the *noblesse* are, therefore, not so much shut up as they would be in middle-class existence. The rich nobility, by change of residence and by travel, also see much more of the world and get a sort of education through their eyes.

P. G. HAMERTON.

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THE AMERICAN COPYRIGHT ACT.

So much has been already written on this law that I propose in this article to confine myself chiefly to an examination of its general policy, and to draw attention to the effect of the act in European countries.

A very definite intention pervades all previous legislation, and the object of its enactment is clearly set forth. In the United States it is "to promote the progress of literature and art by securing for limited times to authors and artists, the exclusive right to their respective writings and art productions." In Great Britain it is "to afford greater encouragement to the production of literary works of lasting benefit to the world." In other countries of Europe the intention, though not defined, is obviously the same, and nowhere do we find the subject of book manufacture mixed up with copyright-property protection except in Holland.

That this policy should be departed from by the United States will not surprise those who have watched commercial legislation in that country during the last twenty years. Under the specious guise of "protection to native industry," all sorts of monopolies have been promoted there. But though France, Germany, and Spain have based their commercial policy on similar principles, yet one and all of them have recognized that the civilizing and humanizing influence of literature and art is far too precious to be tampered with by manufacturing restrictions. The United States, however, could not resist the temptation to try to move the literary centre from the Eastern hemisphere. That this has been the object of the manufacturing clauses in the new law appears from the evidence of Mr. Kennedy before the House Judiciary Committee at Washington on behalf of the International Typographical Union. He says: "Its effects will be to greatly stimulate printing in the United States," and, indorsing the opinion of the London "Times," adds:

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"By this law the literary and book-publishing centre of the English world will move westward from London and take up its abode in the city of New York."

The peculiarity which distinguishes this act from previous legislation is that it refuses to protect copyright property unless the book containing it has been set up and printed within the United States. A particular copy of any book is protected, and the stealer of it is punishable by law; but if the mortgage of the American printer is not satisfied, anybody may utilize its contents—perhaps the fruits of a year or two's toil—to enrich himself at the author's expense.

I quite sympathize with the promoters of this act. It represents a noble effort on the part of Americans to fix on their statute book the grand principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that the fruits of his toil deserve the protection of all civilized countries, irrespective of their place of origin; but I cannot refrain from referring to the hampering restrictions in it which so formidably neutralize this action. Yet, notwithstanding my strong objections to its blemishes and my protest against its deviation from the pure policy of previous acts, I do not hesitate to express the opinion that the new act (exclusive of its manufacturing features) is better and much simpler than our own cumbrous law, and that Great Britain might with advantage and with but slight amplification substitute it for her own. I know that the surrounding circumstances have been too strong for copyright legislators and that they have been, most unwillingly in many cases, compelled to yield to influences too powerful for them to overcome.

I have referred to books as if they were almost the only objects of copyright, because I think them typical enough to illustrate the purport of this paper, but I am not unaware of the liberal largeness of American, foreign, and British copyright legislation, and that it takes under its sheltering care every production in the literary, scientific, and artistic domain.

To gauge some of the results likely to issue from this change of law, it is necessary briefly to notice the current course of trade on the two sides of the Atlantic. At the present time books popular in both markets are generally reproduced in each.

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Books by English authors are set up in type and stereotyped in England, a set of the stereotype plates is sent over to New York or Boston, and the United States demand is met by copies printed from these plates in those cities. But this method of supply is often restricted to the most popular books in theology, science, travel, and biography, illustrated books, and books of which it is especially desirable for the authors to superintend the preparation.

Popular works of fiction, which constitute the greater part of the reading supplied by Europe to America, are set up in type both in Great Britain and in the United States, because the markets in each require different classes of editions. In Great Britain they generally appear in two or three expensive volumes, which are sold chiefly to circulating libraries. These editions serve to gauge the public appreciation of the work. If it is received with fair favour it is very soon reprinted in a one-volume hand edition, and this is, if required by the public, succeeded by a yet cheaper edition, and so on until it becomes a two-shilling or shilling volume on the railway book stalls. By this method the British publisher considers that he gets better remuneration for the author, and I do not think his judgment is much at fault. Experiments have been made of producing cheap popular editions in the first instance, but evidence was given before the British copyright commission showing that these experiments were very seldom successful, though made by such different publishers as Messrs. Bentley and Son, the high-priced novel publishers, on the one hand, and Messrs. Routledge and Sons, the producers of cheap literature, on the other.

The publishers of the United States, recognizing that they had to deal with a differently situated class of readers, adopted other methods. They issued their books in a form at once available for family use and purchase. They began at once by issuing the one-volume hand edition at a moderate price, and seldom reduced the price of their copyright novels till some long time afterwards, except so far as it has been necessary of late years to do so to meet the competition of the unauthorized editions of English novels. This course was forced upon them by the very extensive field over which they were called upon

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to make their distribution, and by the absence of the circulating library system; but it has not obtained for the American writer of fiction the same amount of success which his British colleague has met with.

But there is another class of book which is met with on both sides of the Atlantic, viz., the moderately popular novel or the novel by a young writer not as yet much known to the public. And it is this class which will be most affected by the new law. Every writer instinctively desires as large a circulation for his writings as possible, both to enhance his reputation and to satisfy his purse. The writer of such books will be under the necessity of producing his book in the United States to secure copyright there, and of introducing it to his own market in the American form (which is not at present favourably received or liked by English booksellers), or he will be obliged to reset it specially for the English market at a cost which he can ill afford. He is debarred by this law from bringing out an edition in this country, his home, at much less cost to himself than the United States edition and circulating it throughout that country, though he could do it at a lower price and with greater advantage to himself and to the public on both sides of the Atlantic. Is this restriction calculated "to promote the progress of literature" in the United States?

There is also another grade of writers who, though not so much before the public as those mentioned above, are still entitled to fair play, viz., the writers of books not sufficiently successful to justify their speculating in publishing them in both hemispheres, or who have perhaps been unable to induce an American publisher to speculate in producing an edition in a country where the writer is unknown. To these writers copyright is denied by the new act. "Lorna Doone" and Tennyson's poems are good examples of valuable books too little appreciated on their first appearance to make them of commercial value on both sides of the Atlantic, but ultimately gaining an influence over the public which demonstrated their great inherent merits.

We are therefore led to expect that popular books by popular authors will not be much affected by this legislation, that books by writers not so well known will be produced in the

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United States and supplied to the English market from there, and that books by unknown authors will fail to gain the advantage of the American copyright so indirectly offered to them.

Another point deserves consideration. It is that since the United States market is the larger and more difficult market to supply, United States publishers will compete with English publishers for popular copyrights with great advantage, because they can, if they will, offer the author higher remuneration. Authors, in the first instance, will profit by this condition of things, but it will lead to a more intimate connexion between the publishers in the two countries, and no publisher of miscellaneous books on either side of the Atlantic will be able to conduct his business to the greatest advantage unless he has an agency or unites himself with a publisher on the other side. This may not be a disadvantage—indeed, I am inclined to regard it as the reverse; but its tendency must be to throw the great bulk of the business into few hands, and this will tend towards monopoly and diminish competition. It will also, as I remarked above, promote the gravitation of publishing towards the larger market, which from the extent and population of the country must be in the United States.

It is not to be expected that British printers and book manufacturers will regard this result as satisfactory. Most naturally they will make efforts to hold their own position, and may invoke the aid of the British government to avert the injurious consequences they fear. They may well plead that, though able to compete commercially with the printers in any other country, they are powerless in the face of such an enormous American bounty, and they may point out that as they can supply the English market cheaper than their competitors, they are justified in asking the British government to prohibit the privilege of copyright in Great Britain to all books produced in countries not belonging to the Copyright Union. This would compel the English copyright owner to print all books for the English market within the Copyright Union. Or, on the other hand, they might ask for the repeal of the prohibition against importation into England of editions produced outside the Union, and this would be equally effective, for it would compel the copyright owner

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to elect whether he would allow cheap United States editions to be imported to compete with his own higher-priced English editions, which would be fatal to them, or arrange to prevent their importation and supply the market himself with editions produced here. If either of these courses were taken, the English author would be able to secure copyright in both countries, but at the same time the English printer would escape from the blow meditated against his industry.

Either of these courses might be regarded *per se* as retrograde, but the printers could plead that they were advocated as a means to an end, and that the United States would have it in its power to terminate the effect of them at any time by eliminating the manufacturing clauses from its copyright law and joining the Copyright Union, and thus allowing the making of books to revert to its natural channels.

We can hardly wonder that the British printer feels aggrieved when we bear in mind the very easy terms on which an American author has hitherto been allowed to obtain copyright in England, carrying with it the advantages of copyright throughout the whole of the Copyright Union. The sole condition practically is that the book shall be published first or simultaneously in the British dominions, for the condition that the author shall at the time of publication of the work reside within the British dominions has become obsolete in practice even if ever required by British law. Even the publishing required has been held to be satisfied by the offering of a few copies for sale—not the production, or even the importation, of an edition for the market.

Will this new act affect the public? In the United States it will very materially curtail, though not extinguish, unauthorized reprints, and slightly but only gradually raise the price of books. If this extra price ever becomes burdensome to readers there, they will be able to bear in mind that much of it is due to monopoly in the manufacture of the book, and can so far be remedied by abolishing the manufacturing clauses in the act. In Great Britain its effects must depend on whether legislation of the character described above takes place or whether the American act is allowed to run its course unimpeded. If the latter takes

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place, it is very probable that its effect on the prices of books will be inappreciable, except perhaps in a diminution in the number of novels in three volumes. If Her Majesty's Government are induced to insist that copyright books shall be manufactured within the Copyright Union no change would take place, and books would be issued and sold as at present; but if United States editions were admitted into this market without the author's consent, on the plea that they were lawfully printed editions and ought not to be restricted by him in circulation, the price of new popular light reading would for the time being be lowered, and remain so until the market was adjusted to its altered circumstances. On the whole, therefore, there is reason to believe that the English public will be benefited by this reduction or practically unaffected. Neither will the public in the continental states of Europe be influenced by the act. The differences of language partly account for this result, but it is also due in some measure to the fact that the mode of distribution in those countries is more nearly allied to that adopted in the United States. It is not identical by any means, but similar in many respects. Again, the tone of thought and mode of treatment of subject is a barrier to the literature in any of these countries becoming popular in the United States, except in the form of a translation of an interesting novel or an important biography, history, or book of travels, and such works are already utilized there.

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that besides the classes of literature in England referred to above, there are several peculiar to the country and quite unaffected by this act. Such are school books specially produced for the curriculum of study in vogue in England, and quite unsuitable for American schools or colleges; books local in character and only of local interest; and many minor works and periodicals which cannot wait for typesetting three thousand miles off, but must be produced whilst the subject is fresh in the public mind.

Let us now glance at a few of the difficulties created by the peculiar character of this act. Many novels, stories not published complete, and continuous articles appear in the English periodicals. If the United States Government had joined the

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Copyright Union, the author's property in these writings would have been duly protected by law, as in the leading countries of Europe; but how do they now stand as to their chance of obtaining American copyright? Any American printer or publisher may take them and reprint them for his own benefit, unless the author, "on or before the day of publication in this or any foreign country, deliver to the Librarian of Congress at Washington, or deposit in the mail within the United States, a printed copy of the title," etc. Since the periodical is not copyrighted in the United States, its contents cannot be copyrighted unless each article requiring copyright is registered as above. Moreover, an author must remit to the Librarian of Congress a fee of one dollar (an American has to pay only fifty cents) for recording this title, but his troubles do not end here. He must set up in the United States and bring out his articles at the latest simultaneously with the final article of the series in England. Is not this a very cumbrous way of granting copyright? Many an author will be debarred by the trouble entailed, and his book will ultimately appear in the United States as uncopyrighted. Is this intended? Again, even if the author does take all these necessary steps, is his property safe? I am afraid not. What is to hinder an American newspaper or periodical from using, without payment to the author, each installment as it appears in England, and, if the work should be specially interesting, writing a final chapter so as to end the tale suitably? This has been done, and may be done again, notwithstanding the new act. Again, could Macaulay's "Essays" have been copyrighted under this act? Certainly not. Could the valuable treatises which have appeared in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," such as "Maurice on the Art of War"? Not unless the encyclopædia was set up in type in the United States. Now, the setting in type depends on the publisher, but the injury arising from his not doing so falls on the author, and he is powerless, for under British law he is not able, except by special contract, to bring out his work separately till after the expiration of twenty-eight years, yet his loss is real. Arnold's "History of Rome," which originally appeared in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," became afterwards, by separate publication, a very valuable property. Another difficulty

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arising out of this act is that the author is obliged to negotiate for publication with a publisher three thousand miles off, and yet if he fails to complete an arrangement he is mulcted in loss of copyright. In all other countries in which literature is valued the author obtains copyright by the fact of publishing in any one of them. Is it right that he should be debarred from this advantage by the above-mentioned and numerous other minor difficulties? One can hardly believe that the effects of this act have been sufficiently examined by Congress in Washington, and therefore it is legitimate to cherish a hope that at some early period these impediments and incongruities will be removed.

Neither does it seem probable that lithographic drawings and photographs have received the attention they deserve. It is enacted that all photographic or lithographic drawings must be from "negatives or drawings on stone made within the limits of the United States." Will it conduce to the advancement of art to insist that all photographs taken by travellers in foreign countries, of scenery or public buildings, or sculpture, or paintings, and all portraits similarly taken, shall be re-photographed in the United States before they can obtain copyright? Will it be desirable to filter lithographic drawings of the finest frescoes on the coloured ceilings in the Vatican at Rome, or any of the other exquisite designs met with in Europe, through the manipulative touches of those who have never seen the originals? Surely not. The slight gain to United States labour can never compensate for the artistic deterioration inevitable from this requirement. Neither is it consistent with itself in excepting engravings and etchings; for a map of the United States, or Great Britain, or France, engraved on steel or copper, can obtain the full benefit of copyright by complying with the legal requirements, but the same map drawn on stone would not obtain this advantage unless it was redrawn in the United States.

How will the last section of the act (Section 13) affect Europe? Copyright is to be granted "to the citizen or subject of a foreign state" only "when such state gives copyright to United States citizens on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens." Practically all European states of literary importance already grant these privileges, and it rests with the United States author

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to accept or to refuse them; therefore in this respect the act is inoperative.

But a second case is included in the same section—that in which "a foreign nation is a party to an international agreement, which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States may at its pleasure become a party to such agreement." This condition is obscure. Does it mean an agreement to which the United States may become a party *subject to its present legislation;* or does it mean an agreement to which the United States *can adapt itself* by legislation or otherwise? If the former, as it is excluded from the Berne convention, I fear it must rely on any special agreement it can induce any nation to make. And here we must bear in mind that as its present legislation is repugnant to the Berne convention, all countries included in that convention are debarred from entering into such an agreement. If the latter, of course it can at any time alter its legislation and join the Copyright Union, and I am sure it would be heartily welcomed by all those countries which are already members.

Before concluding, I embrace the opportunity to draw attention to the different bases on which copyright stands in different countries. In most of the states on the continent of Europe it depends upon citizenship, but in England it has always been conditional on first publication, and the United States has practically in its new act adopted that basis. It is certainly more cosmopolitan and commercial, and whereas the basis of citizenship fosters the idea that the law is made for the benefit of authors, the basis of first publication emphasises the fact that the benefit of the public is the lawmaker's first consideration. On the latter principle uniformity and universality of copyright law will be most easily constructed. The author will learn that the protection of his property follows him wherever he may be, and yet he is reminded that such protection is not unconditional, but dependent on his allowing his protectors the benefit of his writings.

In this brief survey I have very freely expressed opinions which may not command universal assent, and I have not hesitated to point out defects and what appear to me to be unsound

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principles, but I hope I may plead in extenuation of this boldness my great interest in the subject. It is a subject which excites interest in but few and one which cannot raise a popular cry, but it is also one whose influence pervades every household. It influences religion, politics, science, art, and every-day life. Little does the casual reader reflect that his newspaper, his novel, or his special study depends on copyright. Without it society could not progress, the masterpieces of the educated brain would not be forthcoming for the delight or instruction of the world. Far from being opposed to the framers of the new American measure, I recognize that by it they have strengthened copyright as a property, and desire to thank them for their arduous efforts in promoting this valuable result. It encourages the feeling that a universal copyright law for the civilized world is within measurable distance, and I hope they will not relax their efforts until this desirable consummation has been achieved.

F. R. DALDY.

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FINANCIAL.

THE NEED OF AN ELASTIC CURRENCY.

THE times are out of joint in the eyes of those who see others with large bank accounts and plethoric purses, while they themselves are left in want. The social order is blamed to some extent for this inequality, but the remedy usually suggested is special legislation which shall in some mysterious way limit the acquisitions of the prosperous and turn a portion of the tide of wealth into channels now painfully empty. The chronic grumbler believes that if he could have control of the law-making power for one brief season he could straighten the crooked ways by which he has suffered, and secure for himself the supply which adverse fortune has thus far denied him. This is the common error of those who are forever clamoring for some act of Congress that will relieve them from the pressure of this wide-spread want. Their great need, as they understand it, is more money; and they see no reason why a larger share should not be awarded to them. The object of their greed, by whatever name it is described, cannot be created by law. Wealth is the product of labor; and, if every storehouse in the world were filled with coin, no more of it would find its way into empty pockets unless the owners of the pockets had something to offer in exchange for it.

As far as currency is concerned, it requires but very little for the business of the world. In civilized communities, especially in populous cities, and among the marts of trade, the bulk of the payments are made by transfers of credit. There is not currency enough in the United States to meet two weeks' payments in the city of New York alone, where from one to two hundred million dollars a day of paper vouchers pass through the clearing house. When the retail trade is a little more active than usual a larger volume of currency is required for payments made over the counter, but the needs for this purpose are much more limited than is commonly supposed. The annual movement of crops in the interior does require an increased volume of currency that may pass from hand to hand. In the city the payments of each day go back into the hands of the banks for re-issue, but in the country the receiver keeps the money, for a while at least, in his pocket, and hence a larger supply is a matter of prime necessity.

The one great fault of our present monetary system is the absence of all provision for this emergency. The currency is not elastic in any sense. The existing quantity may be transferred from one section to another, but there is no way of increasing the bulk when it is needed,

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or of allowing the volume to shrink by a natural process when it is redundant. When a large amount is gathered up at the financial centres for use in the outer districts, there is always a pressure and a disturbance seriously affecting the market, and this periodical excitement cannot in any way be relieved without changing the character of the currency.

A banking system which should permit issues of notes on credit would exactly meet the difficulty. The currency would increase as commerce demanded and shrink when the need abated by the operation of a natural law that would work without friction or violence. The sub-treasury project of the farmers would not answer the purpose. The currency loaned by the government on real estate would be an investment; and the loans on produce would not, like bank issues against drafts for the purchase of the crops, be returned when the movement was effected. They would be issues on warehouse receipts with little of the elastic quality about them. Besides, it would not help the farmers to enable them to store up and hold their produce. No farmer, save in some exceptional cases, was ever benefited by clinging to his crops. A thorough examination of the conditions will show that the producer who sells the yield of his estate the moment it is ready for market will be richer in the long run than the one who is able to hoard his products in the hope of higher prices. A study of the question by the writer from actual observation for more than half a century has established this as a fact that cannot be disputed.

The man who wants more money will find no royal road to the wealth he covets, no patent method for its acquisition. He must give something for it to make it honestly his own, and the man who sets himself earnestly to do this will find that all financial systems will bend to his conquering will. The gambler, whether he plays his game in the exchange, at a faro table, in a policy shop, or with smaller stakes in private circles at baccarat and progressive euchre, will find the issue precarious and unrewarding. The way to get more money without any loss of peace or self-respect is to earn it by toil of brain or sinew, and the funds thus acquired have no gnawing teeth. All other wealth eats like a canker.

DAVID M. STONE.

NATIONAL BANK EMBEZZLEMENTS—THE MANY-ROOFED BANK.

THE national bank frauds recently unearthed at Philadelphia afford a particularly depressing study, more especially when taken in conjunction with those which have preceded them within the past few years; because not only do they reveal the existence of boundless opportunities for theft, but they establish, in addition, the utter inefficiency of the only means which it is possible for the government to employ to check or to prevent fraud, when once the honesty of the bank official has surrendered.

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During the nine years ending with 1886, there were 55 separate cases of defalcation in national banks, amounting in all to $9,959,741, and they were divided as follows among the responsible officers of the banks: 14 presidents, total embezzlement, $5,184,569, average for each individual, $370,326; 21 cashiers, total, $3,798,000, average, $180,857; 9 tellers, $462,000, average, $51,000; and 11 sundry officers, $515,172, average, $46,833. These represented direct frauds.

There are, unfortunately, no available data of the embezzlements reported subsequently, except in cases where they caused the wreck of the institutions in which they occurred; but I find, on investigation, that of the 27 national bank failures which took place during the four years following 1886, twelve were due to frauds by bank officials, while eleven were attributable to excessive loans to bank officers, two to bad management, and two to decay of trade. The figures of these thirteen years will be found to be sufficiently gloomy, but the current year bids fair to raise the dismal average.

In one of his reports the comptroller drew attention to the fact that only a fraction over three per cent. of the national banks organized since 1863 had been placed in the hands of receivers. With reference to this it may be said that the average losses from national banks are known to be very small. It is not, however, the average loss to the community that is disturbing the public mind, but the absolute ruin entailed on nearly all the banks victimized by fraudulent officials, the impunity with which such frauds are committed, the apparent impossibility of devising any means to prevent them, and the general uncertainty as to the safety of institutions, since some of those commonly esteemed to be the safest have proved to be the most corrupt in their management.

Through the courtesy of the comptroller, I have before me a copy of the printed blank upon which the national bank examiners make their reports. I have gone through it carefully; and, while it is admirably designed to afford a record of a bank's condition at the time of the inspection, it is certainly not, in itself, calculated to lead to the discovery of any well-planned fraud; or, in fact, to do much more than it was, to all appearance, originally designed to do, namely, to see that certain governmental regulations are complied with.

The late comptroller, Mr. Trenholm, as a matter of fact, repudiated the idea that his examiners should be able to discover the defalcations which presidents and directors themselves had failed to trace. His functions, he explained, were to see that the bank was properly organized and administered; that no law had been violated in respect to loans, reserves, investments, bad debts, or dividends; and that the assets were really worth the amounts representing them on the books of the bank. In fact, in his annual report for 1887, he accentuated his repudiation of any such liability by scornfully remarking: "No one of practical experience would rely upon an examiner who comes only once a year and who can afford to stay but a single day, to discover thefts

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or false entries that have been successfully concealed from directors who are always present and whose money is being stolen. All efforts must be futile that are directed to supplying, by means of official examination, an effective substitute for the vigilance and personal accountability of directors."

The present comptroller, Mr. Lacey, is apparently disposed to assume a greater responsibility. In his report for 1889 he said: "The chief officers of a banking association transacting an extended business are, in a large degree, prevented from personally supervising all the multifarious details which are necessary to the conduct of the business of our larger institutions. The presence, therefore, of the examiner, aided by competent assistants, is very welcome to the officers responsible for the safety of the great interests committed to their care. . . . The details of every branch are brought simultaneously under the scrutiny of experts." To a lack of clearness as to the meaning of Section 5,240 of the Revised Statutes of the United States must be ascribed these different views of these officers.

There is a defect in the national banking system which insists on the maintenance of thousands of small isolated banks, instead of permitting the establishment of large banks with branches radiating in all directions from a central office—within a limit of, say, one day's journey, or 500 miles, in which the examination could be continuous and efficient, being, so far as the branches are concerned, conducted by the parent bank itself. The experience of other countries has demonstrated that, for all purposes of safety and convenience, this kind of many-roofed establishment is the best. Its system of examination is entirely automatic, and is conducted by an efficient corps of examiners at the head office of its establishment. These examiners do not depend upon yearly visits for keeping the branches in order. From daily official letters between each branch and the central office, from weekly returns of the most exhaustive description, and from previous visits and reports, the inspectors become familiarized with the business of each branch, and the training of a life-time gives them an incredible power of memory and marvellous instincts for the discovery of any irregularities. It is the perfection of inspection. It goes on without intermission, yet unharassingly, since it is the acknowledged custom.

Prior to its adoption, English banks suffered cruelly from defalcations, much as this country does now; since its perfection thirty years ago, the great joint-stock banks with chief offices in London and with aggregate deposits of $1,000,000,000, have not suffered an appreciable loss through the dishonesty of their employees. Could anything be said more in favor of the system? Yet some of these banks are of the most colossal magnitude. The London and County Bank, for instance, has 172 branches, while the National Provincial Bank has 164 branches, and their combined assets are in the neighborhood of $400,000,000. It is probably safe to say that the officers of these banks are not more honest than the same class in this country, for the average

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American banking official yields to none in point of sterling integrity; but what they lack is opportunity and temptation to defraud, and what they possess is the most rigid discipline.

The branch system prevails not only in England but in Scotland (where there are seven banks possessing upward of a hundred branches or agencies apiece) as well as in Australia, Canada, and other British possessions. Under it, the banks flourish, the present average market value of banking capital in England being 210 per cent. premium, that of Scotland 157 per cent., and that of Ireland 161 per cent.; while there are in Australia banks which pay 25 per cent. on $3,000,000 capital, 17½ per cent. on $6,250,000, and on $6,000,000, while others pay dividends of 14, 15, 17½, and 22½ per cent., respectively, on large paid-up capitals. These banks do well not only for themselves but for the country of their location, whose credit and commerce they improve and develop enormously.

When the branch system was first introduced in England 60 years ago, the country was covered by private banks, which met the requirements of the public fully as well as the national banks meet our own necessities to-day. The public had abundant confidence in these banks in which their fathers and grandfathers had believed in as in a creed. They seemed imperishable, but they stood as the national banks stand to-day—mere local units, without cohesion or combination—and they experienced the fate of all such when fighting against powerful federated action. They have been swallowed up almost absolutely by the large branched establishments, and the result is undoubtedly the survival of the fittest.

What I would venture to suggest for this country is the legalization of some system of amalgamation, whereby national banks, within certain areas, should weld themselves together, so that, instead of having 3,500 solitary institutions, as we have now, all more or less exposed, we should have, say, 50 large banks, with from 50 to 100 branches each, radiating from our chief cities throughout the country.

The central offices of these amalgamated banks might be relied upon to see that the branches were properly examined (there has never been any trouble in other countries about this), while the government examiners, the clearing house committees of the cities where the chief establishments were located and, as in Great Britain, some firms of reputable auditors, could make a crucial investigation of the affairs of the head offices semi-annually. Such a change would involve no dislocation or displacement of staff, and need wound no *amour propre;* for the president of a small bank would not find his dignity curtailed by translation from his presidency to the management of a great and powerful institution.

The advantages of banks with branches are too numerous to be detailed at length here. Prominent among them, however, may be mentioned the fact that the smallest branch has all the strength of the parent institution, and that no local convulsion has the power to injure

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the branch. *Apropos* of this, it may be said that there are banks to-day in Great Britain which could lose the entire assets of a dozen of their branches, not only without closing a branch door, but without passing a dividend.

The methods of inspection employed in such banks prevent defalcation and bad banking, while in times of panic a bank with a number of branches all situated within a day's journey of the head office and therefore within timely reach of help, finds it essential to keep only a fraction of the cash on hand which the same number of isolated establishments would consider necessary to their existence.

Such banks do not become monopolies; on the contrary, they are foils to monopoly, for in practice it is found that wherever the branch of one institution is established, a rival office is prompt to put in an appearance. This maintains a healthy competition, while the system itself acts as a check upon the formation of small banks whose size and irresponsibility are a danger to the community, and whose desperate struggle for the means of existence degrades the profession of banking. Such banks, too, tend to the creation of an excellent class of employees. These come into the bank as youths, and as they are thus familiarized with the handling of money from their earliest age, there is little temptation to take what does not belong to them.

Much more might be written in favor of the branch or many-roofed bank, but probably enough has been said to show how vastly the potentiality of the existing national banks might be increased by their being brought into such a system. No one wishes to see our national banks supplanted, or a single officer of them displaced, but the requirements of the country imperatively demand a change in the direction indicated, and it would be greatly to the profit of every bank stockholder were such instituted.

J. SELWIN TAIT.

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ESTIMATES OF NEW BOOKS.

POLITICAL.—*The American Citizen* (D. C. Heath & Co.) by Charles F. Dole, is a compact handbook which is designed to interest youth in the duties of citizenship and in the functions of government as they touch daily life. Starting with the type of government which exists in a well-regulated home, the necessity for authority, obedience, and co-operation in all the relations of life is most entertainingly developed. The book is an excellent preparation for more advanced treatises like John Fiske's "Civil Government in the United States" and Woodrow Wilson's "The State."——The practical application of right principles to citizenship is most clearly shown in the life of that great American who learned its rights and duties by direct contact with the people in the hardships of western pioneer life. *Abraham Lincoln, the Liberator* (Funk & Wagnalls) by Charles Wallace French, sets forth the main facts of that life in the clear, colorless manner which characterizes so many volumes which are compiled to order for a series. This one belongs to the "American Reformers" series, and has no other reason for being.——Henry Cabot Lodge has also been called upon to contribute to a series (that on "Historic Towns," which has so far consisted of nine English cities and one American city). His volume on *Boston* (Longmans) is less perfunctory than the usual work in this line, because he has heretofore written on aspects of the subject, and has long saturated himself with the history of the period. The bulk of the volume is taken up with the colonial and revolutionary history of Boston, and is particularly entertaining in describing the great social changes in that city which the Tory exodus wrought. Like Brooks Adams, this son of the Puritans is peculiarly alert to the intolerance of his ancestors.—— Political history in another field, but one which Americans have of recent years watched almost as closely as their own, is represented by the new edition of T. P. O'Connor's summary of *The Parnell Movement* (Cassell), first issued in 1884. It is well-known as a vigorous *ex-parte* statement of the case. The new edition contains a biographical sketch of unlimited eulogy by Thomas Nelson Page, and an appendix of three pages which puts the author in thorough accord with Justin Mc Carthy's leadership, and predicts "the speedy triumph of the cause of Home Rule."

TRAVEL.—*A Flying Trip Around the World* (Harpers), by Elizabeth Bisland, is the outcome of a rather juvenile bit of advertising in which two women became the racers which the world was expected to watch. Because Miss Bisland is a woman of refined instincts and

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quick observation, her book is of more permanent value than its object would lead one to expect. She has an eye for color and picturesqueness, and is evidently a healthy and adaptable traveller who makes light of discomforts. She photographs the things which are "different," and lets the reader infer what is a matter of course. She is too impressionable, perhaps, and shows her delight with an enthusiasm that often lacks discrimination.——Another volume of "rapid" travel writing is Thomas Stevens's *Through Russia on a Mustang* (Cassell). It sketches a ride of 1,100 miles through the heart of Russia, from Moscow to Nijni Novgorod, and is entirely journalistic in its methods. An editor would call it "good copy" for a Sunday edition, and a reader would find in it amusement, but very little research or wise reflection. A chapter describing a day with Tolstoï is valuable especially for the matter-of-fact tone of it. Mr. Stevens is not a hero-worshipper, but an experienced observer of men.——Charles Dudley Warner is a traveller of a different sort, combining the methods of a literary man with the practical eye of an editor. *Our Italy* (Harpers) is his epitome of California—written with admiration for its beauties, but conservative in its estimate of commercial advantages. His idea is that there is so much of undoubted worth in California that there is no need to use exaggerations for literary effect. What he has to say of the orange, raisin, and wine industries is, therefore, of particular weight.——When William Winter travels it is as a man of poetic temperament who lives in a literary atmosphere where the most real personages are creatures of the fancy of other men. His *Gray Days and Gold* (Macmillan) is a collection of sentimental travel sketches of wanderings in England and Scotland, with Moore, Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Byron, Johnson, and Scott as literary ghosts to haunt his dreams in many places.

FICTION.—This is the publication season for "summer fiction," and it is notable that there is hardly an elaborate, full-fledged novel in the lot. Most of the volumes are reprints of magazine short stories, and novelettes of two or three hundred pages—convenient volumes for a short car-ride or a rainy afternoon in camp. There is one marked exception—the novel *Jerry* (Holt), by Sarah Barnwell Elliott, which is a bulky volume with all the machinery of "parts," poetical chapter headings, and the free use of rhetorical periods which marks the conventional English romance in three volumes. The popular strength of this much-praised story lies in its emotional intensity and sympathetic style. Its artistic weakness is displayed in the entirely feminine (and heroic) interpretation of the character of Jerry, whose very existence in the situations created for him would depend on intense masculinity. That the author brought him to complete disaster at the last, when so near success, would show, perhaps, that she is artistically consistent, at any rate.——The other way of writing the romance of the humble is shown in J. M. Barrie's sketches of old Scotch village life—*A Window in Thrums* and *Auld Licht Idylls* (Cassell). There is not a touch of the

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"heroic" in this author's methods. The wonderful effects of realism are wrought by simplicity and depth of feeling—not by endowing plain people with the complex emotions of artificial civilization. The pathos and humor are of the quiet kind which appeal strongly to people of taste.——Something of the same simplicity is found in Mary E. Wilkins's *A New England Nun* (Harpers)—though the charm of style is not the equal of Mr. Barrie's. The women who read will, however, prefer Miss Wilkins's way of looking at life and character, which is entirely domestic and provincial.——Two novelettes have appeared, almost simultaneously, with old Virginia gentlemen as prominent characters. *On Newfound River* (Scribners), by Thomas Nelson Page, is a plantation story of the times before the war, which, in spite of its conventionally romantic plot, is entertaining. Mr. Page's sentiment and poetic feeling step in to save his story where his invention fails him. ——F. Hopkinson Smith's *Colonel Carter of Cartersville* (Houghton) has long been a familiar character in New York where the author has found the story grow upon his hands as he told and retold its episodes to audiences of friends. This story is in strong constrast to Mr. Page's, as it transfers an "old Virginia gentleman" from his plantation to the new conditions of modern New York.——The South is also represented in recent fiction by Joel Chandler Harris's *Balaam and His Masters* (Houghton)—a series of sketches depicting negro and cracker life in Georgia. They show the author's usual grasp of the eccentricities of character, and very original literary methods—with a lack of invention and constructive power.——Among humorous fictions of the month is *A Box of Monkeys and other Farce Comedies* (Harpers), by Grace Livingston Furniss, which contains four little plays well-adapted for parlor theatricals. They are full of that sort of exaggeration which is necessary for "fun" in domestic entertainments, where the performers are not usually artists in method. Some of the characters are needlessly idiotic and vulgar, even for a farce-comedy.——Frank R. Stockton's *Rudder Grangers Abroad* is humor of a more delicate kind, the essence of which is paradox—if one may invert the definition of paradox to read "something seemingly *true* yet *absurd* in fact."——F. Anstey (author of "Vice Versâ") is surely an own literary cousin to Stockton—and one might well imagine Stockton to have invented the fanciful conceit on which is built *Tourmalin's Time Cheques* (Appleton). The English author has also the American's placid, unconscious style for narrating the most absurd things. One is apt to weary of their methods if one reads them at long sittings. They suggest a whole dinner of nothing but *consommé*.——Jerome K. Jerome has some literary kinship with Mark Twain, but so far removed that the American humorist would hardly claim it. Mr. Jerome's *Diary of a Pilgrimage* (Holt) is a dilution of the sort of thing that a good while ago delighted people with *Innocents Abroad*. We like another kind now, and the absurdities of a block-head travelling in a strange country seem a very common sort of humor.

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MISCELLANEOUS.—*Younger American Poets*, 1830-1890 (Cassell) is a compilation by Douglas Sladen which is fairly representative, though there is no perspective whatever in the number of pages allotted to the authors of varied accomplishments. It is a piece of book-making for which there is no particular reason, and Mr. Sladen's solemn and grotesque introduction furnishes none—except, possibly, the vanity which likes to associate its name with people of talent.——To meet a demand for a concise biography of that eminent preacher, the publishers have issued in a separate volume John R. Howard's study of *Henry Ward Beecher* (Fords, Howard & Hulbert) originally published in 1887 as a preface to his "Patriotic Addresses."——Among useful *Translations* should be noted Jessie P. Frothingham's version of the *Journal of Maurice de Guérin* (Dodd, Mead & Co.)—a well-printed volume which includes Sainte-Beuve's Memoir of the author.——In the admirable series of translations of the popular historical works of Imbert de Saint-Amand the latest volume is *Marie Louise; the Island of Elba, and the Hundred Days* (Scribner's). Elizabeth Gilbert Martin is the competent translator.——Porter Sherman, a student of economics, has translated from the German Dr. Lujo Brentano's valuable work on *The Relation of Labor to the Law of To-day* (Putnams)—an abridgment of the same author's authoritative book on "Labor Guilds." The translator was a pupil of Dr. Brentano, and this work is made with his hearty approval.

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